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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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*May-June, 1943*

## PERIODIC CHANGE IN SOCIAL DISTANCE A STUDY IN THE SHIFTING BASES OF PERCEPTION

MAURICE H. KROUT  
*Chicago City Junior Colleges*

● *Introduction.* The study of perception began with Lotze's announcement that nonspatial data explain how and why individuals perceive. This announcement lost its validity with the rise of sense physiology. When Schultze announced the difference between the functions of the rods and the cones in visual perception, sense physiology approached the problem of perception in earnest. Helmholtz, stressing the empirical interpretation, and Hering, stressing the nativistic theory of perception, did not materially retard the trend of this research. Neither position was of the essence of the problem. Then followed Fechner with his theory that sensations have absolute magnitude and can be measured from a zero point. If this was the beginning of quantitative thinking in the field, it was considerably improved by Mueller's view that a limen is not, as Fechner had thought, a fixed point but a variable quantity, allowing for considerable variation under changed conditions. When Cattell arrived on the scene, psychophysics had reached a high degree of development, but the introduction of chronometry put the emphasis on central process, as against sensory and motor responses as such. Studies of visual depth, auditory localization, two-point limens, and cutaneous sensitivity became decreasingly important as central processes moved to the forefront of psychological attention. A growing emphasis on cerebral activity led to the assumption of centrally aroused images and the concept of imageless thought.

The Wuertzburgian conception of imageless thought never found place for itself in American psychology. Titchener and his followers who pioneered in this field sought a meaningful context for percepts. Their search led to the conclusion that perception is a summation process, involving sensory modalities based on internal and external stimulation. The perception of spatial stimuli led inexorably to the discovery that temporal relations could also be perceived. The phi-phenomenon opened up new vistas in perception as a structuralization of points in time. Gradually there came the study of perceptions genetically, as a problem in learning and growth. Then came the *Gestalt* contributions and the theory that we react to configural relations rather than to isolated stimuli. The emphasis on the member-character of every part of an organized whole became a fundamental fact of perception. It was the sociologists, however, who laid stress on the fact that this whole, in social perception, is a group or its culture. Experimental research justified this emphasis. One of many proofs along this line lay in the fact that memorizing nonsense syllables designated as belonging to a social group influenced perception and thus shortened the period of learning. The conclusion thus reached was that, both quantitatively and qualitatively, a percept depends on its social setting, its social frame of reference. As a result, it is now realized that the search for pure perception based on nonspatial, not to say nonsocial, data was thoroughly futile. Neither sense modalities nor perceptual responses are possible apart from field relations from which they derive and to which, implicitly or explicitly, they must have reference.

*The perception of social distance.* The fact that we perceive objects in terms of unitary relations of parts in a given field does not necessarily mean that we perceive human individuals in terms of their relations to other in-

dividuals or groups in a given social field. A human individual may be perceived as an object in a field of inanimate objects (as in the case of a dead individual). He may be perceived as part of an animate, but nonhuman, field of objects, viz., when we regard man in terms of evolution, as a member of the animal world. In this study, however, we choose to deal with human individuals whose perceptions arise from a field of animate, human objects having a certain national or racial character. These perceptions will be tested by the various degrees of withdrawal or approach in the direction of the objects perceived. Such a test exists, and is known as the test of social distance.

Prejudice and preference, based on varying types of perception, represent different degrees of approach and withdrawal, and as such can be measured in terms of social distance. The concept itself is owing to Park. But it was Bogardus, Dodd, Guilford, Thurstone, Katz and Braly, and Metzer who, in a number of studies, implemented the concept of social distance and devised tests for the experimental study of intergroup relations.

The perception of social distance is distinguished from the perception of physical or spatial distance in that the first involves attitudes derived from a field of social forces, whereas the second does not. Theoretically we assume that spatial distance may affect social distance, but whether it does or not no study has heretofore definitely shown. Two individuals may be close to each other in space, but far apart socially. Whether they must be far apart socially no one has undertaken to show. Theoretically it is assumed that social distances, once established, tend to be preserved and maintained over a period of time. Obeisances, ceremonials, and taboos are illustrations of techniques by which social distances, once perceived, are maintained. But whether there are periodic changes in social distances has been a matter of theoretical speculation.

*Subjects and techniques.* Bogardus suggested four methods of measuring social distances between groups: (1) personal recording of social distances, (2) analysis of personal attitudes, (3) statistical indications of group co-operation and conflict, and (4) community of leaders in groups observed. Since the validity of the Bogardus personal recording scale (his No. 1) was established by Thurstone's method of paired comparisons, we used a modified form of this scale in a series of class experiments. This form included the following points:

1. I would exclude them from my country.
2. I would permit them to be visitors only in my country.
3. I would grant them the right of citizenship in my country.
4. I would permit them to get employment in my occupation in my country.
5. I would permit them on my street as neighbors.
6. I would permit their children to be playmates of mine.
7. I would permit them in my club, as personal chums.
8. I would permit close kinship by marriage with this group.

Over a period of six years, at intervals of about six months, a total of 296 subjects was asked to rank each of thirty-nine racial and national groups on this scale. Since the ranks ran from absolute withdrawal to absolute approach, it was assumed that each rank, starting with the third, presupposed the inclusion of all previous ranks (except the first). Multiplying the scale orders by their frequencies, and dividing the sum by the number of rankers (since some subjects left out certain groups), we obtained the mean value for each national or racial group in the test. The means were ranked in ascending order to get the relative positions of the groups.

The experiment was conducted in six classes in the fall of 1935, the fall of 1936, the spring of 1937, the fall of 1938, the spring of 1939, and the spring of 1940. The subjects were college students, mostly sophomores, who had

had a two-semester course in social science, but no other work in psychology or sociology.

*Analysis of distance ranks.* Several types of analysis were made. First, our ranks were matched against the ranks reported by Bogardus in a similar study on the Pacific coast. Using the latter data arranged in ascending order as a base, we plotted the Midwestern figures on a comparable scale. Reversing the procedure, we let corresponding California figures play around the Midwestern curve. In this way, the two sets of modalities gave us interesting insights into differences in distances maintained by students in different localities. The most striking differences were found in the Asiatic, Balkan, and colored groups, which yielded the longest distances in our experiments. It is interesting to note that the Japanese, Hindus, and Chinese, in the order named, appeared most distant in the Middle West, while the North Europeans occupied a middle position on the scale. The Jews, Germans, and Russians appeared to have the shortest social distances. In the California study, however, the Turks, Negroes, Japanese, Hindus, Jews, Mexicans, Germans, and Chinese, in the (ascendant) order named, gave the longest distances, while the North Europeans appeared to yield the shortest distances. The East Europeans in both studies were grouped toward the center of the distribution. In the case of the Asiatic group, we obtained interesting proof of the fact that spatial distance (the perception of objects based on spatial field forces) may be inversely proportional to social distance (the perception of objects based on social field forces), for the California group evidently regards them as socially closer than does the Midwestern group. Proximity in space may have intensified competition, and heightened social conflict, but it has also led to greater social proximity. If economic conflicts with Asiatic groups are relatively unknown in the Midwest, neither are social proximity and social contact common in this region.

Now we turn to a temporal analysis of our data. The comparison here is purely in terms of rank order differences.<sup>1</sup> At first examination there appears to be an impressive consistency of trends. This is due to the fact that the actual figures were not plotted, and the rank differences are not large enough to show up prominently. Nevertheless, this comparison is probably more significant than that obtained by Bogardus, who asked his subjects to record "changes in racial attitude" during the five or ten years preceding the test. Accepting fluctuation to the extent of two to four ranks as within the range of normality, we find the distances of certain national and racial groups *virtually* unchanged from year to year. Here belong Bulgarians, Canadians, English, Irish, Jews, Koreans (?), Portuguese, Filipinos, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, Swedes, Syrians, and Turks. Among those showing a marked trend toward a reduction of social distances we find the Dutch, Finns, Hungarians, Norwegians, and Roumanians. Among those showing a marked trend toward a lengthening of social distances we find the Germans, Hindus, Italians, Serbs, and Spanish. The remaining groups show so much inconsistency of fluctuation that it is impossible to classify them as either shortening or lengthening their distances through the period in question. These are Armenians, Chinese, Czechs, Danes, Greeks, Indians, Japanese, Mexicans, Mulattoes, Negroes, Poles, Russians, and Welshmen.

*Analysis of internal changes in rank.* Curves based on an eight-point scale for each group have been prepared to show the internal permutations in each group's scale over a period of years; 1938, 1939, and 1940 being chosen as test years. The curves have been found to reduce themselves to five distinct types: (1) the J-curve, or typical unimodal distribution, showing a sharp mode at one extreme,

<sup>1</sup> The table giving the social distance changes, 1935 to 1940, for thirty-nine racial-cultural groups has been omitted for reasons of war economy.

the "close kinship" category in our test; (2) the M-curve, showing a bimodal distribution of choices, in which the two modes fall somewhere between the two extremes of exclusion and marriage; (3) the bimodal curve, so called, showing two modes which do not necessarily fall between choices one and eight, but appear irregularly at various points on the scale; e.g., one of the modes may fall about the middle and the other at the extreme right of the scale, or one may fall at about the middle and the other at the left end of the scale; (4) the trimodal curve, so called, showing the presence of at least three modes, distributed irregularly on the scale; and, finally, (5) the U-curve, pointing to the presence of one mode at the extreme left end and another at the extreme opposite end of the scale.<sup>2</sup>

A comparative analysis of these curves indicates that in only ten cases was there strict consistency of pattern throughout the period involved. Of these, eight were J-curves, one an M-curve, and one a trimodal curve. The shifts in each case deserve elaboration. The shift from a trimodal to an M-curve shows a trend toward normal distribution. A shift from an M-curve to a bimodal curve shows decreased regularity of distribution, or the presence of some disturbing factor in the perception of relationships; just as the shift in the opposite direction would show an increasing trend toward normal distribution. A shift from a trimodal distribution to a U-curve points to the elimination of the moderate point of view in the perception of relations.

A comparative overview of the curves conveys a definite impression of the trend in the three successive years. Thus, if the shift in the direction of our curves seems to be to the left, we can assume a growing conservatism of perception. If the shift is more or less generally to the right,

<sup>2</sup> The need for economy accounts for the omission of a figure giving the curves which afford a comparison of social distance frequencies for 1939 and 1940, showing changes in group ranks.

we can assume the presence of a growing liberality in the perception of intergroup relations. Comparing the curves on this basis, we find 1939 showing a more conservative trend than 1938; 1940 showing a somewhat more liberal trend than 1938; while 1939 shows greater similarity to 1940 than 1939 shows to either of the two years following it, with a slight tendency toward greater liberalism in 1940 than in 1939.

*Analysis of genetic origins.* Of course, the genetic origin of perceptions is of great importance not only in evaluating trends but for the achievement of principles of mutation which would make rational perception of inter-human relations more feasible. Bogardus has taken up the origins of both positive and negative perceptions of the type discussed, which he classifies under a small number of suggestive categories of his own choosing. The attempt in the present study was to get explanatory categories supplied by the subjects themselves. In order to do this, each subject was asked to complete the following sentence for each group on the list: "I have voted as I have because . . ." The responses obtained fell under fourteen positive and nine negative categories.

The positive list embraced the following:

1. Desirable personal traits (Irish, Canadians, English, Danes)
2. Desirable culture traits (Canadians, French, Italians, Russians)
3. Economically desirable (Dutch, Finns, Jews, Swedes)
4. Politically desirable (Czechs, Jews)
5. Assimilable (Norwegians, Scotch, Danes, Dutch, French, Irish)
6. Culturally similar to "our" group (Canadians, English)
7. Familiarity with personalities or culture (Roumanians, Poles, etc.)
8. Curiosity concerning culture (Dutch, Finns, Greeks, Portuguese)
9. Preference for race or religion (Jews)
10. Familiarity with language (English, French, Polish)
11. Pleasant personal contact (French-Canadians, Greeks, Italians)

12. Sympathetic attitude (sympathy) (Czechs, Chinese, Indians, Jews)
13. Democratic attitude (Czechs, Danes, Finns, Swedes)
14. Unexplainable emotional preference (Bulgarians, Indians, Jews, Norwegians)

The negative list included:

1. Undesirable personal traits (Hindus, Mexicans, Mulattoes, Negroes)
2. Undesirable culture traits (Germans, Japanese, Mexicans, Hindus)
3. Inassimilable (Chinese, Hindus, Japanese, Mulattoes, Mexicans)
4. Economically undesirable (Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Mexicans)
5. Politically undesirable (Germans, Italians, Japanese)
6. Racial or religious opposition to marriage (Chinese, Japanese, Jews, Negroes)
7. Unfamiliarity with culture (Armenians, Koreans)
8. Unpleasant personal contact (Germans, Mexicans)
9. Unexplainable emotional aversion (Greeks, Hindus, Mulattoes, Turks)

Following each item above are a few of the national groups which carried especially high frequencies in the list of categories. It must be remembered that there were entries under virtually each of the groups on the list, those chosen being merely representative of some of the higher frequencies. In order to secure some indication of how new perceptions of intergroup relations originate, we asked the subjects to complete the following statement in connection with each group on the list they had checked, viz., "A few years ago I might have voted differently on this group. Now I vote as I do because . . ." As a result of this approach we obtained the following two lists of factors presumably involved in the changed perceptions of our subjects:

*Positive changes associated with*

1. General change of attitude (Syrians, Armenians)
2. Knowledge from reading (Bulgarians, Danes)

3. Study of language (French)
4. Study of history and politics (Armenians, Greeks)
5. Study of music (Italians)
6. Friend's indirect influence (Bulgarians, Canadians, French)
7. Personal contact (Armenians, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Negroes)
8. Friendliness to U.S.A. (Finns)
9. Victimization (Chinese, Czechs, Poles, Spanish)

*Negative changes associated with*

1. Economic depression, U.S.A. (Chinese, Filipinos)
2. Hostility to U.S.A. (Japanese)
3. Sociopolitical change (Armenians, Czechs, Russians, Roumanians)
4. European crisis (Spanish, Italians, Germans)
5. Fascist dictatorship (Germans, Italians)
6. Military aggression (Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Japanese)
7. Religious persecution (Germans, Hungarians, Italians)
8. Race discrimination (Mulattoes)
9. Pro-Nazi influence (Bulgarians, Hungarians, Portuguese)

Here again we have a list prepared from the subjects' own categories, with some high-frequency samples under each category.

*Conclusion.* From the data presented we are able to infer some interesting comparative facts which reveal differences in social distance maintained on the Pacific coast and in the Middle West. We found that familiarity need not always "breed contempt," in the sense that spatial distance is inversely proportional to social distance. On the contrary, we found that shorter distances may be maintained by those living close to certain national or racial groups than are maintained by those separated from these groups by thousands of miles. In other words, the perception of intergroup or interpersonal relations does not necessarily derive from the physical setting of human groups.

A detailed examination of our data reveals that rank order differences in social distance, based on the perception of intergroup or interpersonal relations, could be

used as a gauge of withdrawal and approach. Viewed in the perspective of several years' testing, some groups tend toward greater, and some toward shorter, social distances, as far, of course, as our subjects are concerned. Several groups show a trend toward stability of status, and some give evidence of considerable fluctuation from year to year.

A comparison of changes in "internal ranks" yields evidence of typical permutations over a period of three years.<sup>3</sup> Five typical curve-patterns have been discovered, but only 25 per cent of the groups seemed to adhere to one such pattern in three successive tests. The rest showed tendencies to shift either in the direction of greater or in the direction of lesser tolerance on the part of our subjects. On the basis of this analysis, also, general periodic trends in the direction of lessened or increased prejudice could be discovered.

A study of explanatory factors entering into shifts in social distance discloses various positive and negative rationalizations offered by the subjects. This study shows that social distance is a valuable objective device for quantifying preferences and prejudices of a given group toward other groups. Social psychologists have long known that prejudices and preferences inhere in the cultural matrices of groups and come down to individuals as part of their social heritage. Social psychologists know also that the residua of personal contact can and do alter prejudices and preferences alike, because they alter the social fields which give rise to perceptions from which social attitudes derive.

This study shows that social distances, on the whole, do not remain fixed and constant. In a dynamic social world it would indeed be surprising if there were not some degree of revaluation of group relationships and, conse-

<sup>3</sup> A table is available which gives a comparison of changes in internal ranks, 1938-1940.

quently, periodic changes of perception leading to change in social distance. Our study shows, however, that this revaluation does not affect all national and racial groups alike and, furthermore, that it is never complete. The motivation of change is deep and complicated. Resistance to change is therefore not always easy to explain. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, to a large extent, historicocultural trends can be associated with evident changes in social distance.

What makes the type of perception involved in social-distance tests different from the perception of an object in relation to the field to which it is anchored, or even of two individuals in a given configurational relationship, is the fact that here the subject is called upon to perceive *his* group and *another* group not extracted from, but projected into, a spatiotemporal relation. This implies that any periodic change in the relationship perceived is owing to changes alike in the *rated* group and the *raters'* own group. The rationalized intolerances and preferences of our subjects show clearly that the rated groups are perceived in terms of their aggressiveness toward other groups (including the raters' own), their tolerance of other groups (democratic attitude), their economic progress, and general changes in their political structures. The raters' groups themselves meantime undergo change. From the testimonials of our subjects we again infer that changes in the status of their own groups (recognition, or denial of recognition, from others), change in their economic situation, change in their political situation, and a general fear of insecurity may motivate the subjects' voting in behalf of their own groups. It is obvious that the rise to power on the part of the rated group and its concomitant aggressions and intolerances are powerful factors in the perception of relations between those groups and the raters' own. It is equally apparent that the expansion of the ego of the

raters' group, the progress in its arts and sciences, the flights and conquests of its heroes, and its form of leadership influence the perception of the status of the raters' group. Thus, too, the contraction of the raters' group-ego, commonly associated with depression, with persecutions by others within the larger group or outside it, can equally contribute to the perception achieved in fixing social distances.

In conclusion, let us admit that the chief value of this type of study, even if ample rationalizations were available, would not be the discovery of when or why certain historicocultural events bring about changes in social distance. This is not the business of a social psychologist. To say so would be similar to saying that prejudice toward groups is a normal and necessary phase of human behavior, and that it is bound to continue forever. This is here categorically denied. To the author it seems that the chief value of a periodic survey of perceptual responses lies in the discovery of the changes in the general levels of tolerance characterizing the raters themselves.

In an ultimate sense, tolerance for human beings represents (a) freedom from projected aggressions typical of tribal controls and (b) acceptance of civilized controls in dealing with those of other groups than one's own. From this point of view, the repetition of the social distance test is intended to disclose not only how thirty-nine races and nations have changed but what the raters themselves have accomplished in their growth from lower to higher standards of life. It is suggested that the ultimate test of civilization, from the viewpoint of adequate perception of human values, is the number of racial and national groups which, in the ratings of a given test group, tie for first, second, and third places in the ordinal succession. It is further suggested that this approach is as valid in testing the responses of a single individual as it is in testing the responses of a class or some other group.

## HOUSING CONDITIONS IN A SMALL CITY

FREDERICK A. BUSHEE

*University of Colorado*

● Boulder, Colorado, is a city of 12,958 inhabitants. As it is situated in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains and is a mile above sea level, it is popular as a summer resort. It is the seat of the State University and is a residential rather than a manufacturing or commercial city. Denver, which is only thirty miles away, attracts a great deal of the retail trade.

A short time ago the Boulder Coordinating Council, together with a class in sociology under the direction of Dr. Gordon Barker, undertook a survey of housing conditions in the city. Boulder was divided, rather arbitrarily, into ten districts; and three or four students were assigned to each district with careful instructions to follow. The first returns were rechecked by experienced persons, and the different sections of the city were gone over again by a process of sampling; so we feel that the statistical results are reasonably accurate.

The distinguishing characteristic of this survey was the attempt to grade all the houses according to desirability of residence, not according to the rental paid, and the data collected are presented with reference to this classification. We started the survey with five grades ranging from A to E. Class A consists of the newer, more expensive houses of superior quality. Class B is made up of one-story houses of superior type. Boulder has a large number of small houses recently built, and it was thought desirable to classify these separately. Class C comprises the average acceptable houses. They are older and show more deterioration than those in the preceding classes. Such a large number of houses fell into this class that we decided to plus and minus some of them to indicate degrees of de-

sirability among the average houses. While there is actually considerable difference between C plus and C minus houses, the gradation is gradual and differentiation depends on rather a hasty judgment of the investigator; therefore, we feel that these distinctions do not have the validity of the primary grades. For some purposes these subdivisions may be disregarded. Class D comprises a large number of houses which are considered habitable but which lack one or more of the modern conveniences. The most common lack is central heating and the next is a private bath. Class E contains the houses which are considered below the standard of acceptability.

The final returns give 4,243 dwellings for a census population of 12,958. The census population is not, however, the total population which has to be housed. To it must be added the number of students living outside the university dormitories, and also allowance must be made for duplications from students whose residence is Boulder. With these adjustments the population to be housed amounts to 15,581. This gives an average of 3.6 persons to a dwelling, or 3.9 persons to an occupied dwelling, which is not a crowded condition, especially when we consider the large number of rooming houses for the accommodation of students.

It will be seen from this classification that nearly half the houses are average, comfortable dwellings, 17.6 per

TABLE I  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF DWELLINGS IN THE DIFFERENT CLASSES

Class	Number	Percentage
A	434	10.2
B	316	7.4
C+	440	10.4
C-	949	22.4
D	627	14.8
E	1,378	32.1
	99	2.3

cent are of excellent quality, and 2.3 per cent fall into the condemned class. Nearly one third fall into class D; that is, they are not modernized but are not uninhabitable. According to the housing surveys made in 1934 and 1936, for the country as a whole, one fourth of the urban dwellings were classed as substandard, or, in other words, their occupants were considered to be "poorly housed." Even allowing for differences of standards in the different surveys, we should say that not more than one fifth of the houses in Boulder should be so classed; but these differentiations are vague and inexact, depending upon the individual judgment of the various investigators.

If we consider more objective, concrete characteristics, such as central heating or a private bath, the quality of houses in Boulder would appear to be well above the average of the country as a whole. According to the "Inventories of Real Property," taken in 1934-36, 40 per cent of all urban dwellings lacked central heating, and the percentage was the same for cities in the northwest section of the country. In Boulder the percentage was 34.4. Specific cities in this survey which might be comparable to Boulder are Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Colorado Springs, both of which showed a higher percentage than the average. Cheyenne reported 47.4 per cent of dwellings without central heating, Colorado Springs 54.5 per cent. While these comparisons are of concrete differences, they still have the disadvantage of being made from studies in different years and under somewhat different conditions.

A comparison of dwellings in various cities having no private bath should be more reliable because this may be made for a large number of cities of similar size and all for the census year of 1940. According to the Census the percentage of all urban dwellings having no private bath was 30.5 for Colorado and 29.5 for Wyoming. Against this high average Boulder had only 17.6 per cent. Other

cities in this area which might be comparable showed the following percentages:

TABLE II  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF DWELLINGS HAVING NO PRIVATE BATH

		<i>Number Reporting</i>	<i>No Private Bath</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Boulder,	Colorado.....	4,452	796	17.8
Colorado Springs,	" .....	12,013	3,300	27.5
Fort Collins,	" .....	3,848	982	25.3
Grand Junction,	" .....	3,115	1,034	33.2
Greeley,	" .....	4,240	1,434	33.8
Longmont,	" .....	2,245	731	32.5
Trinidad,	" .....	3,340	1,596	47.8
Pueblo,	" .....	13,606	5,279	38.8
Casper,	Wyoming.....	5,896	1,538	26.1
Cheyenne,	" .....	6,356	1,751	27.5
Laramie,	" .....	3,206	753	23.4

It will be seen from this table that all these cities have an appreciably higher percentage of houses without private baths than Boulder. Judging from these two standards then, central heating and private baths, it would appear that Boulder has a better grade or type of dwelling than other cities similarly situated, and therefore the population may be considered to be better housed. This point will be referred to later in connection with other evidence.

The proportion of unoccupied dwellings in a city is of special interest to business men, but the statistics ordinarily available are insufficient to throw much light on the problems involved. Total numbers of vacancies are reported without regard to the type of house or the location of vacant dwellings; and, if the number is large, this is accepted as an indication of poor business or even of a declining population; if small, it is supposed to indicate booming business and particularly an excellent real-estate situation. While these conclusions may be correct in extreme cases, from a broader point of view a large number of vacancies may indicate an excellent social situation of

gradually improving housing conditions, whereas a small number of vacancies may indicate overcrowding and social deterioration, however profitable the situation may be for landlords and real-estate dealers.

Boulder belongs to the group of cities which has a moderately large, though not excessive, number of unoccupied dwellings. According to the 1940 Census it ranked fourth in the cities of Colorado if we leave out Leadville, which is not a normal city for such comparisons. The percentage of vacancies among these cities is as follows: Colorado Springs 6.1 per cent, Delta 5.9, Salida 5.8, Boulder 5.4 (or 5.6 according to our survey).

Vacancies in our survey of Boulder according to grade of houses are as follows:

TABLE III  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF UNOCCUPIED DWELLINGS ACCORDING  
TO CLASS

<i>Class</i>	<i>Occupied</i>	<i>Unoccupied</i>	<i>Percentage Unoccupied</i>
A .....	432	2	.4
B .....	301	15	4.7
C+.....	425	15	3.4
C .....	900	49	5.2
C—.....	590	37	5.9
D .....	1,280	98	7.1
E .....	75	24	24.2

This table shows that there are practically no vacancies in Class A houses. The two vacancies reported, as will appear below, are apartments. No vacancies were found in detached houses of Class A. The column of percentages shows that vacancies increase quite regularly from the better- to the poorer-grade dwellings. Vacancies in houses up to the C— grade are below the average for the city as a whole, and the largest proportion of vacancies occur, as they should, in grade E houses. This appears to be the

normal situation for a city which is gradually improving its housing conditions. About 50 new houses are built each year in Boulder; and, as this is rather more than enough to care for the small increase in the population, these gradually attract tenants from Class C houses, and these openings in turn tend to cause more vacancies in the inferior houses. In some ways it would be desirable if the movement away from the poorest houses were more rapid. If all Class E houses were closed, the tenants could easily be accommodated in the vacant houses of Class D. But there are many influences in addition to rental charges which cause sluggishness of movement from one grade house to another, such as location, neighbors, the cost and trouble of moving. And, finally, it must be admitted that some tenants are no better than the tenements, and they might not be welcome in better-grade dwellings, even though they could pay the rent. While rents are, of course, a factor in the demand for houses, they are not the sole determining factor, as is sometimes assumed. Rents are very inaccurately adjusted to desirability of dwellings, and most tenants in inferior houses could improve their condition at no higher rental if they were actuated by the sole motive of getting the best for their money.

Although Boulder would give the impression of being a city of detached residences, the survey shows that one sixth of all dwellings are apartments. It is difficult to compare this with other cities and districts in the housing surveys which have been made, because the classifications are somewhat different. In the survey of 1934 the cities of the northwestern section of the country reported more than one fourth of all dwellings in the general class of apartments. Cheyenne, Wyoming, however, had one eighth in this class, and Colorado Springs less than 6 per cent.

The number of apartments in Boulder according to class is given in Table IV.

TABLE IV  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF APARTMENTS ACCORDING TO CLASS

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
A	135	19.
B	20	2.8
C+	91	12.76
C	175	24.54
C—	86	12.06
D	184	25.87
E	22	3.10

This table shows that the proportion of apartments in the different classes varies somewhat from the classification of all dwellings given in Table I. Practically one half of the apartments fall into Class C, which is a slightly higher percentage than that for all dwellings. The chief difference between the classification of apartments and of all dwellings is that a larger number of apartments fall into Class A, and a smaller number into Class B. The small number in Class B is to be expected because few of these houses are large enough for subdivisions. The apartments reported are mostly basement apartments. The larger percentage in Class A shows that recent building is tending more to the apartment type of dwelling. Fewer apartments than total dwellings are found in Class D, and a slightly higher percentage in Class E, which is of little importance.

TABLE V  
NUMBER OF UNOCCUPIED APARTMENTS ACCORDING TO CLASS

<i>Class</i>	<i>Occupied</i>	<i>Unoccupied</i>	<i>Percentage of Unoccupied</i>
A	133	2	1.48
B	17	3	15.
C+	86	5	5.5
C	153	22	12.57
C—	75	11	12.80
D	184	28	15.22
E	22	1	4.5

The number and percentages of vacancies in the different classes of apartments are given in Table V.

In this table the percentage column by itself would not indicate that apartments followed the rule found to apply to all dwellings, namely, that vacancies increase as the quality declines. However, the actual numbers in some of these classes are so small that percentages are of little value. This observation is evident from the column giving the number of vacancies that occur in the three better grades of dwellings. The largest number and the highest percentages are to be found in Classes C, C—, and D, and therefore the general principle seems to hold that the better-grade apartments are in greater demand than the poorer grades. The single vacancy occurring in Class E apartments shows that in Boulder, as well as in other cities, the very poor are forced into few rooms and over-crowding is found chiefly among them.

The final item of investigation pertained to the ownership of houses. The number of houses owned by the occupant in Boulder is only a little above the average for the state as a whole, and is lower than that in a number of other cities, notwithstanding the fact that Boulder is a residential rather than an industrial city. According to the Census of 1940, the owner-occupied houses in Boulder are 43.5 per cent of the whole; and according to our survey they are 45 per cent. The average of urban centers for the state as a whole is 41.1 per cent and that for Wyoming is 46.3 per cent.

The proportions of owner-occupied houses in some of the other cities in Colorado and Wyoming according to the Census are given in Table VI.

Cities of similar size to Boulder, as will be seen, do not differ greatly in the proportion of houses owned by the occupants. Pueblo, a manufacturing city of 52,162 inhabitants, reports half its houses owner occupied; and this is

TABLE VI  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSES IN  
SELECTED CITIES

		Dwelling Units	Owner-occupied	Percentage of Owner-occupied
Boulder,	Colorado	4,564	1,985	43.5
Colorado Springs,	"	12,711	5,588	44.
Fort Collins,	"	4,012	1,773	44.2
Grand Junction,	"	3,728	1,758	47.1
Greeley,	"	4,998	2,056	41.1
Longmont,	"	2,292	1,152	50.3
Trinidad,	"	3,644	1,543	42.3
Pueblo,	"	14,287	7,143	50.
Casper,	Wyoming	6,216	2,561	41.2
Cheyenne,	"	6,717	2,955	44.
Laramie,	"	3,306	1,518	46.

true of a number of smaller cities, including Delta, Englewood, Florence, Golden, Leadville, Longmont, Loveland, Montrose, and Salida. On the other hand, in Denver, the one large city in Colorado, only 36.7 per cent of the houses are owner occupied.

Cities which contain good-sized educational institutions do not seem to show a large percentage of houses owned by the occupant; the explanation may be due in part to the large number of rooming houses necessary to meet the student demand.

In a considerable number of cases a large proportion of owner-occupied houses is accompanied by a small proportion of vacancies, but there are exceptions. Nevertheless, it is possible that a relative scarcity of houses is one inducement to families to build or buy their own homes.

Turning now from the Census returns to our own survey, we may obtain the number of owner-occupied dwellings according to class. The first part of Table VII gives the number and percentage of all dwellings which are owner occupied. In the third column apartments are de-

ducted, and the attempt is made to ascertain the ownership of detached houses. The Census gives the returns for all dwellings, and consequently they are given here for comparison; but, inasmuch as apartments would not be owner occupied anyway, the chief interest centers on the ownership of detached houses.

TABLE VII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED DWELLINGS BY CLASS

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of All Dwellings</i>	<i>Percentage of Detached Houses</i>
A	235	53.91	78.6
B	166	52.53	56.08
C+	210	47.72	60.17
C	469	49.42	60.60
C—	246	39.23	43.47
D	562	40.78	47.06
E	24	24.24	31.17

Table VII shows that the proportion of owner-occupied houses generally decreases from the better to the poorer grades. From Column 2 it will be seen that over one half of the best-grade dwellings are owned by the occupant and nearly half of the C+ and C grades. In the C— and D grades the numbers fall to about 40 per cent, and in the E grades only one fourth are owned by the occupant. As will be seen from Column 3, ownership by the occupant of detached houses is much greater than for all dwellings; but the rise is specially noticeable in Grade A houses, where nearly 80 per cent are owner occupied. The percentages here rise, of course, in proportion to the number of apartments in each grade, for these have been deducted from the total number of dwellings. In Class E the number of owner-occupied detached houses rises to 31 per cent, but it still remains much the lowest on the list.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that a survey of dwellings made according to grade of house brings out

several interesting facts not appearing in those studies which present averages and summaries for all dwellings together. First, vacancies are much the highest among inferior houses and decrease almost uniformly with better-grade houses until they practically disappear among the best grades. Therefore the conclusion, so often assumed, that business or population is declining when houses are unoccupied is not always justified. A detailed analysis of vacancies indicates that the population is gradually improving its housing conditions by keeping new building at least up to the population growth and by utilizing its best dwellings. Second, the number of owner-occupied houses is definitely higher among the best-grade dwellings and decreases rapidly with inferior houses. This is particularly true if we omit apartments and consider detached dwelling houses by themselves.

The general conclusion with regard to Boulder is that the housing conditions are superior to the average urban centers of the country and to those in most other cities similarly situated. While a little over one third of the dwellings lack one or more modern conveniences, this proportion is less than the average for urban centers in this section of the country. And the number of dwellings lacking private baths is decidedly less than the number in other cities of this section. If the apartments themselves are separated according to class, they are found to conform to the same principles which pertain to other dwellings. Apartments in Boulder do not form a particularly large proportion of the total dwellings, but they appear to be on the increase.

## PROPAGANDA AND THE SOCIAL SITUATION\*

RALPH HERBERT TURNER

*Graduate Student, The University of Southern California*

● During the last two decades a new subject for scientific research, namely, propaganda, has emerged to a point of prominence. Besides receiving attention from popular writers and students of applied science, this subject has been investigated by political scientists, historians, social psychologists, and sociologists. One of the most widely studied aspects has been the methods which make for effective propaganda. Techniques have been tested in many specialized fields and evaluated comparatively. Although the results are as yet far from final, the progress achieved is clearly out of proportion to the duration of the study.

But it has been observed that the best techniques are not always effective, and that the worst sometimes produce remarkable results. Consequently, some writers have doubted that there can be a science of propaganda<sup>1</sup> or a body of laws or principles.<sup>2</sup> It is at this point, however, that the sociologist can contribute to the study through his emphasis on the social situation. Many students have overlooked the fact that propaganda functions in a social situation. No analysis can account for the effectiveness of propaganda without consideration of the situation of which the process is a part.<sup>3</sup>

Analysis of the social situation as a determining factor in the effectiveness of propaganda can be made from two

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<sup>1</sup> William Albig, *Public Opinion* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Harwood L. Childs, *An Introduction to Public Opinion* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1940), p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (New York: Peter Smith, 1938), p. 185.

standpoints. First, every situation may be analyzed in terms of its susceptibility to propaganda in general. It should be determined which conditions and which types of population insure all propaganda a greater chance of success than do other conditions and populations. Thus far the greatest attention to this phase has come from educators seeking to fortify the public against propaganda.<sup>4</sup>

Second, the group which is highly vulnerable to one propaganda may remain unscathed by another. A perfectly executed campaign conducted in a situation which is, in theory, highly susceptible to propaganda may fail, or a poorly executed campaign may succeed with a group which should be highly critical. Hence, the particular propaganda and techniques and the particular social situation must also be examined in their relationship to each other.

These aspects may be summarized in a tentative law of propaganda, as follows: the effectiveness of any propaganda is determined by (1) the techniques employed, (2) the receptiveness of the social situation, and (3) the interaction of the propaganda with the particular social situation. Any complete study of propaganda must take note of each of these elements.<sup>5</sup>

This paper will suggest a number of generalizations relating the social situation to the effectiveness of propaganda. They are based on the existing literature, general observation, and application of sociological generalizations from related areas. They are offered not so much as conclusions as tentative, illustrative applications of the second and third phases of the foregoing thesis. They should serve principally to suggest a manner of approach.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Everett Dean Martin, *The Meaning of a Liberal Education* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1926).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Clarence M. Case, "Leadership and Conjuncture: A Sociological Hypothesis," *Sociology and Social Research*, 17:510-13, July-August, 1933. The present writer is largely indebted to Dr. Case for this approach to social phenomena.

Every generalization should be modified by the phrase, "other things being equal." No single generalization is sufficient to explain any single case. Rather, the effectiveness of any particular propaganda is the resolution of a complex pattern of variables, some working in one direction and some in others.

For the purposes of this discussion propaganda may be regarded as a communication process in which individuals or groups employ symbols in order to win widespread *uncritical* adherence to a particular definition of a given situation. It should be noted that propaganda is differentiated from education, because ". . . propaganda strives for the closed mind."<sup>6</sup>

## I

There are many different conditions which make a given situation more or less fertile soil for propaganda in general. Some of these may be grouped under a few principal headings.

1. The effectiveness of propaganda varies with the nature of the issue involved. Some issues are almost invariably settled by weight of propaganda applied while others resist all the propagandist's attempts to interfere. The issue is always a part of the social situation, utilized but never created by the propagandist. A few illustrations will clarify the point.

Propaganda will be more effective as the issue is less one of available fact. Questions of religion and philosophy are always better soil for propaganda than are simple matters of observation.

Aldous Huxley has pointed out that propaganda is particularly likely to be effective when there is no significance to the issue.<sup>7</sup> When the difference between contending paths of action is negligible, there is no incentive to the

<sup>6</sup> Everett Dean Martin, *Farewell to Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1935), p. 357.

<sup>7</sup> "Notes on Propaganda," *Harper's Magazine*, 174:32, December, 1936.

effort of critical thought. How effective advertising can be with products which do not vary significantly from brand to brand has been shown by Frank Stanton.<sup>8</sup> Many political campaigns hinge on propaganda for this same reason.

The less adequate are the definitions of the particular type of situation in the folkways and mores at the time, the greater are the possibilities for effective propaganda. The mores and folkways are much stronger than most propaganda, and are followed almost automatically when they apply to a situation. Corollary to this is the observation that a new issue, lacking established definitions, is more likely to be settled by propaganda than an old one.

Edwin Paget has pointed out that sudden changes of opinion are likely to occur when prevailing definitions have become mere formalism or when the issues are only superficially comprehended by the public.<sup>9</sup> These generalizations are particularly applicable to sudden changes as a result of propaganda.

2. The effectiveness of propaganda varies according to the characteristics of the people making up the social situation. Certain types of personalities "swallow" any propaganda readily, and can be counted upon as supporters of the latest fad or panacea.

Among the traits conducive to susceptibility, the most widely recognized is low intelligence, since intelligence is necessary to discern the propagandist's errors of reasoning. Ignorance similarly aids propaganda, since the informed person is more likely to note discrepancies, fabrications, and omissions. However, a highly specialized information may not help to resist propaganda in areas outside the specialization. Lack of information also leaves the subject without a basis for stable opinions. Thus, Paul

<sup>8</sup> "A Two-Way Check on the Sales Influence of a Specific Radio Program," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 24:665-72, 1940.

<sup>9</sup> "Sudden Changes in Public Opinion," *Social Forces*, 7:440-41, March, 1929.

Lazarsfeld found that the bulk of the people registering opinion changes during the debate concerning Justice Black's appointment to the Supreme Court were those who had no opinion before.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that below a certain point these traits do not act on the effectiveness of propaganda in the same way. It is conceivable that a person might be so uninformed or unintelligent as to be completely impervious to propaganda in many areas.<sup>11</sup>

Training in critical thought and mental alertness are impediments to effective propaganda, since the propagandist seeks to catch his public off guard and promote unhesitant, blind action. For the same reason, a nervous or impulsive disposition predisposes a person to be a victim of propaganda.<sup>12</sup>

The same characteristics which are conducive to suggestibility increase the probable effectiveness of propaganda. The very young are more receptive to propaganda; women are reportedly more susceptible, though evidence is probably inadequate on this point; sociability and socialness increase receptiveness; and poor health or fatigue decreases the capacity to resist.<sup>13</sup>

3. The effectiveness of propaganda depends on the type and condition of the prevailing social organization. One factor is the system of communication and its availability. The more extensive the communication facilities, the larger the group which may be reached; the more diverse the facilities, the greater the variety of stimuli which may be applied; and the more rapid the communication, the more timely may be the stimuli and the greater the possibility for simultaneous activity in different places.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> "The Change of Opinion During a Political Discussion," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23:141, January, 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Frederick Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1933), pp. 394-95.

<sup>12</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942), pp. 293-94.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>14</sup> Edward L. Bernays, "Molding Public Opinion," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179:85, May, 1935.

The more firmly entrenched and dominant is one single ideology and system of thought, the less chance there is for effective propaganda. Propaganda in support of a well-entrenched ideology is largely superfluous,<sup>15</sup> and propaganda against it bucks the stone wall of prejudice. Similarly, propaganda is more effective in a time and place of rapid and pervasive social change. In static periods every idea is referred to a single frame of reference for acceptance or rejection, but in time of social change these frames of reference are no longer adequate and the propagandist's able use of techniques becomes more crucial. Physical mobility also augments susceptibility to propaganda through the superficiality which it promotes.

As the social structure becomes more complex, the opportunities for effective propaganda are multiplied, and the difficulty of resistance becomes greater. Cooley has said:

... the activity of the will reflects the state of the social order. . . . Choice is like a river; it broadens as it comes down through history—though there are always banks—and the wider it becomes the more persons drown in it. Stronger and stronger swimming is required, and types of character that lack vigor and self-reliance are more and more likely to go under.<sup>16</sup>

4. The effectiveness of propaganda varies according to the nature of the situation at the moment the stimulus is received. One of the characteristics of a situation at a given moment is its "tension level." As this is higher, propaganda is more likely to be effective.<sup>17</sup> Factors contributing to this tension include insecurity and a crowd situation. Writers are agreed regarding the large part that German insecurity played in fostering Adolf Hitler's rise to power.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Harold D. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936), p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 75-76.

<sup>17</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, p. 190.

And the "thick humanity" and "sense of insignificance" in the crowd stifle independent judgment.<sup>18</sup>

In studying the mob reactions to Orson Welles' radio program, "The Invasion from Mars," Hadley Cantril found that other conditions fostering an irrational reaction to the stimulus included a status of submission in the group, separation from one's usual family circle, or strangeness of the listening situation.<sup>19</sup>

## II

The effectiveness of propaganda depends upon its interaction with the social situation. "The propagandist exercises his ingenuity upon a particular situation. . . ."<sup>20</sup> Not only must the techniques be good and the situation receptive, but the propaganda must be appropriate to the characteristics of the specific situation. This is the phase of the study of the effectiveness of propaganda which has been most neglected. It is likewise the phase in which the generalizations are most difficult to formulate, since it is so largely a region of specifics.

1. The effectiveness of propaganda depends upon its interaction with the attitudes and values prevalent in the social situation. Aldous Huxley places extreme emphasis on this factor:

Social and political propaganda . . . is effective, as a rule, only upon those whom circumstances have partly or completely convinced of its truth. In other words, it is influential only when it is a rationalization of the desires, sentiments, prejudices, or interests of those to whom it is addressed.<sup>21</sup>

Propaganda is abetted if it is wish fulfilling, and can seldom run counter to the prevailing attitudes and values. It needs also to be framed in the language and dress and

<sup>18</sup> Charles H. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> *The Invasion from Mars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), pp. 139-46.

<sup>20</sup> William Albig, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

symbols of the group to be well received. The status of the presumed sponsors will influence the propaganda's chance for success. And the group's attitude toward those who are first won over is a major factor to consider, the winning of group leaders insuring a large following among the group.<sup>22</sup>

2. The effectiveness of propaganda depends upon the nature and degree of the opposition encountered. "It is therefore *social suggestion protected from contradiction* that can best bend down the individual will."<sup>23</sup> Both the volume and the skill and resourcefulness of the opposition are determining factors. Negatively, tactical blunders or overaggressiveness on the part of the opposition aids the other propaganda.<sup>24</sup>

In a conflict of propagandas primacy of stimulation is highly important.<sup>25</sup> The propaganda which receives first attention has more than simply the advantage of greater time in which to operate. If favorably received, it establishes neural connections which are harder to erase than they were to make.

3. The effectiveness of propaganda increases as it is supported by events. This may be the greatest obstacle or aid, since the events are beyond the propagandist's control. Clever propaganda may for a time turn a Dunkirk into a British victory, but cannot long counteract continued defeat. George Bruntz has shown how closely German morale during World War I corresponded with the military fortunes of the moment.<sup>26</sup>

4. The effectiveness of propaganda varies according to the appropriateness of the social structure to the aims of

<sup>22</sup> Edward L. Bernays, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>23</sup> Edward A. Ross, *Social Control* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p. 148.

<sup>24</sup> Edwin Paget, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-42.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Frederick Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 20:63-81, April, 1925.

<sup>26</sup> "Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of German Morale in 1918," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2:61-76, January, 1938.

the propaganda. For example, propaganda for concerted group action is likely to be most effective when the structure is unified and the parts characterized by considerable interlapping.<sup>27</sup> Homogeneity of population and interests, absence of internal conflicts and disagreements, experience in working together—all aid the propagandist who seeks action. The difficulties confronting the propagandist when these are absent have been well illustrated in the Balkans.

On the other hand, propaganda to prevent concerted group activity has a more fertile soil when the opposite conditions prevail. The propagandist utilizes heterogeneity of population, absence of unity, to set the members of the group against one another, making collective action impossible.<sup>28</sup>

### III

On the basis of the inadequacies of the generalizations here accumulated, several recommendations for future research seem justified.

First, there need to be a classification of types of propaganda and formulation of bodies of laws appropriate to each of these. Besides the difference pointed out between action-producing and inaction-producing propaganda,<sup>29</sup> there are probably differences in the generalizations appropriate to conflict as opposed to nonconflict propaganda, emotionalized value as opposed to nonemotionalized value propaganda, overt action-producing as opposed to opinion-producing propaganda, and change-producing as opposed to *status-quo*-preserving propaganda. Many of the generalizations offered here may not be equally true for each of these different types.

Second, study of the effectiveness of propaganda needs to be broken down into "three dimensions." Effectiveness

<sup>27</sup> Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923), p. 139.

<sup>28</sup> Charles H. Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 370, point number 4.

is of three kinds as measured by (1) quantity or numbers responding, (2) intensity of the response, and (3) duration of response. Some of the generalizations will apply to one of these phases more than to others.

Third, a comparative evaluation of the importance of the various generalizations is necessary. A negative answer to one "law" may outweigh positive responses to several others. Until the different generalizations are weighted, prediction is an impossibility.

Fourth, it is necessary to determine the manner in which the generalizations apply, and the degree of consistency exhibited. Do any of the generalizations permit mathematical treatment? Do some of the generalizations act on the all-or-none principle? And what of the laws which have points of maximum application, beyond which the factors cease to operate or operate negatively? And, finally, after a careful study omitting none of the major factors, can there be said to be a science and laws of propaganda?

## THE NEGRO NEWSPAPERS AND THE WAR

RALPH N. DAVIS

*Tuskegee Institute*

- Both general discussions and scientific treatises in the United States today have direct reference or implications which indicate that the present World War is an attack on democracy by the Axis powers and that the political ideology of a democracy embodies a program of living and a way of doing which are characterized by liberty and equality as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States. The Negro newspapers of the United States reflect the full realization and concern of the Negro people in this struggle against the totalitarian powers and against undemocratic procedures in the United States toward its Negro citizens.

A study of the contents of the Negro papers since the entrance of the United States into the war reveals statements and discussions which are symbolic of the double battle that confronts the Negro—the battle of democracy in which he lives and the battle for full realization of the principles and programs of a democracy.

The Negro press is decidedly expressive and communicative regarding the injustices and discriminations to which the Negro citizens are subjected; and through the years the Negro papers have been active agencies in the attempt to secure an improved status and full participation for the Negro.

Status and participation are topics of continuous occurrence in the Negro papers. The discussions on the war in the Negro press deal largely with:

1. The issues, grievances, and demands of the present day that have arisen out of the inferior position that slavery, social heritage, and race prejudice have assigned the Negro.

2. The attempts to change the status that precludes, limits, or blocks the Negro as a citizen of the United States.

The main discussions and issues fall into the following categories:

1. The relationship statements.
2. Demands concerning full and nonrestricted participation in activities such as the armed forces and war industries.

*Relationship statements.* The relationship statements embody or imply some generalities regarding the total problem of the Negro and the program of the war and the political ideologies associated with the war.

1. Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, there evolved a slogan, "Remember Pearl Harbor." On January 25, 1942, one month and eighteen days later, a Negro was lynched in Sikeston, Missouri. The reaction of the Negro press to the lynching tragedy and the particular individual is translated as an attack on the Negro people. The *Chicago Defender* of March 14 printed the following slogan and expressions: "Remember Pearl Harbor . . . and Sikeston Too!" "Remember Pearl Harbor! Remember Sikeston! Japan and Sikeston, Both Must Fall!" "Japan Lynched Pearl Harbor; Sikeston Lynched Democracy!"

2. The *Pittsburgh Courier* of Saturday, April 11, 1942, carried a full-page display with the headline: "'Double V' Incentive for Unity among Races." The "'Double V' Incentive for Unity among Races" was suggested to the *Pittsburgh Courier* by one of the readers and was first published in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of July 31, 1942. A part of this letter is quoted:

Dear Editor:

. . . The "V for Victory" sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries which are fighting for victory over aggression, slavery, and tyranny. If this V sign means that to those now engaged in this great conflict, then let colored Americans adopt the double VV for

a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without; the second V for victory over our enemies within. For surely those who perpetrate these ugly prejudices here are seeking to destroy our democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis Forces . . .

This "Double V" movement of the *Pittsburgh Courier* brings out the dual problems of the Negro and links with the war effort of fighting for democracy the effort of the Negro to realize democracy in a nation which is now promoting war efforts for full participation of democracy.

3. The *Atlanta Daily World* of May 7, 1942, quotes from an address presented by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of The American Council on Education held in Chicago in May, 1942. According to reports in the *Atlanta Daily World*, Dr. Johnson stated: "The morale is currently tragically low because of discrimination in the Army, Navy, and Air Forces."

These three cases just cited represent the Negro's conception of the relationship between the general problem of the Negro and the specific problem of the war effort and the principles of a democracy.

*News formula: grievances, demands, protests, and opportunity.* Grievances, protests, and demands as occurrences in Negro life and as recorded and discussed in Negro papers reflect the social conditions that produce and perpetuate the Negro newspaper. One function of the Negro paper is the attempt to bring about changes, reform, and improvement in the social conditions that affect the Negro—the very conditions that produced the Negro newspapers are the conditions the papers are trying to change.

Representative samples indicating grievances are:

"Even Axis Cannot Make Dixie Give Up Its Hate."  
(*Baltimore Afro-American*, June 27, 1942.)

"Soldier Killed by Posse in Arizona." (*Norfolk Journal and Guide*, July 11, 1942.)

"White Soldiers Insult and Fight Negro Soldiers Seeking To Eat in Oklahoma Bus Station Restaurant." (*New York Age*, June 27, 1942.)

Grievances, protests, and demands constitute the greater proportion of discussions relating to the war. Opportunity with implications of recognition and achievement also constitute items of both importance and significance. Reports concerning the promotion of war, the battles, and the general problems of the war do not appear frequently in Negro papers. There are, however, a few Negro war correspondents. The one steady exception to what may be styled as news formula (grievances, protests, demands, and opportunity) is the policy followed by the *Atlanta Daily World*, the only daily paper in the United States owned and edited by Negroes. In addition to the news formula, the *Atlanta Daily World* carries news concerning the war and other significant news items of general interest.

Protests are somewhat similar to grievances, but there is some action or movement at work or some proposed program that embodies some degree of hope. In the July 11, 1942, issue of the *Baltimore Afro-American* occurs the caption: "Highest Medical Authorities in the United States Pooh-Pooh Blood Bank Segregation." Here it appears that the protest was not wholly the concrete case which involved the insistence to donate the blood, but may be construed as a protest against the inferior position of the Negro in the social order which gives the label "Negro Blood" a corresponding inferior status and an emotional inferior value, and associates the loss of status with the infusion of blood from Negroes.

Published statements of demands include: "Free Us Now, Not after the War" (*Baltimore Afro-American*, June 27, 1942); "Christian Democracy Must Work First at Home" (*Houston Informer*, July 11, 1942).

Continuous, conspicuous, insistent, and emphatic are the published accounts of the demands made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the March on Washington Committee. These demands cover all phases of Negro life and problems and connect, contrast, and compare events and happenings with the ideals and principles for which the war is being fought.

Since the struggle for status is so continuous in the life of the Negro, discontent and complaint, as expressed in the newspapers, are manifest even in some records of opportunity in such items as:

"Soldiers Throughout the World." (*Atlanta Daily World*, June 22, 1942.)

"Knox Orders Color Strike End—White Employees Told to Return to Jobs." (*Atlanta Daily World*, June 23, 1942.)

"Largest Class Gets Air Corps Wings." (*Atlanta Daily World*, July 5, 1942.)

"Ex-Slave Gives Five Acres to Beat Dictator—Camp Swift, Texas." (*Pittsburgh Courier*, July 11, 1942.)

Among the published events of individual achievement reflecting racial pride is the award of the Navy Cross to Dorie Miller, Navy mess attendant who manned a machine gun without previous training or authorization during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The preceding discussion of the concrete cases of the news formula (grievances, protests, demands, and opportunity) indicates editorial appraisal in news gathering, news distributing, and readers' interests. These items just discussed also set forth in a way the problem which needs a program.

*Programs.* According to the comments and appraisals in the Negro newspapers, there is a tendency to classify the ideas and discussions regarding a program to meet the

demands. A case in point is the article regarding disagreement or differences of opinion as discussed by Mr. Percival Prattis, Executive Editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

This discussion concerns the staffing of the hospital at Fort Huachuca entirely with Negro doctors. Mr. Prattis points out that the NAACP now demands the whole loaf of integration when it insists that Negro doctors be filtered throughout the Army medical corps just like other doctors. He further states, "Take the half loaf and stay busy fighting for the whole loaf."<sup>1</sup>

This dichotomy, the half and whole loaf idea, seems to have had its origin in the controversy between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Tuskegee Institute in regard to the separate unit for the training of Negro cadets in the Advanced Flying School at Tuskegee.<sup>2</sup>

The Negro newspaper and other agencies engaged in the Negro struggle for improved status were discussed in the July, 1942, issue of the *Reader's Digest* by Mr. Stanley High. Included in this article is a discussion relating to the March on Washington Movement and the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, which developed out of this movement.

The function of this Committee is to develop a program that would attempt to secure full participation of all persons in war industry regardless of race, color, or creed. On June 18-20, 1942, this Committee had a hearing in Birmingham, Alabama. The reactions of the Negro press and the white press to the hearings of the President's Committee bring out into the clear not only the findings of the Committee but also the complexities of the race problem.

At this hearing Mark Etheridge, a distinguished Southerner and a liberal, read a statement "that there is no pow-

<sup>1</sup> *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 14, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 28, 1942.

er in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis, which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation." Negro newspapers expressed resentment, and discussions occurred relating to social segregation and social equality. Regarding the social equality, the editor of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* (July 4, 1942) points out:

No informed person who has lived in the South can truthfully say that the Negro's struggle for economic security has the slightest relation in the Negro's mind to any obtrusion upon the social life of Southern white people, in its true meaning. Whether the Negro survives in America, or whether he starves depends altogether upon what is meant by "social segregation."

In a similar vein, the *Houston Informer* (July 4, 1942) regards the request as expressing a desire for economic opportunity at all levels, and not for social equality.

*Conclusion.* News presentation, editorials, and discussions by columnists indicate that the Negro papers are making urgent and insistent demands. While these demands are associated with the war effort, newspapers and other agencies make it clear that demands and pressure to realize demands must not hamper or retard the war effort at any time or in any way. On the other hand, it is made equally clear that protests and demands should not be lessened because of the war, but should be definitely associated with the ideology of democracy for which the war is being fought.

Discussions and efforts connected with grievances, protests, demands, and opportunity have been a function of the Negro newspapers since the beginning of the first Negro newspaper in 1827. The newspaper came out of the Negro's struggle for status and the types of social control to restrict and limit the participation of the Negro.

A study of the Negro newspaper shows that the mechanisms of social control which have evolved in the Negro-white relations have placed definite restrictions and limitations on the cultural participation of the Negro. In the social order the position of the Negro is subordinate and the position of the whites superordinate. From the point of view of the white persons, this social control may be interpreted to be to the advantage of the whites in so far as it leads to the conception of security and superior status of the white group.

However, the very mechanism of social control which, from the point of view of the white group, is advantageous and necessary for security is, from the Negro's point of view, disadvantageous and unjust. Consequently, the Negro's security is contingent upon the attempt to bring about some changes in the social order affecting Negro-white relationships. In short, the status associated with being a Negro and at the same time an American involves dual and conflicting ends.

It is a reconciliation of these ends that concerns the newspapers and other agencies working for a change of the Negro's status, for the Negro desires to realize all that the words "American" and "United States Citizen" mean as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

## CULTURE CONFLICTS IN RELOCATION CENTERS

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

*The University of Southern California*

● The ten Relocation Centers established in the United States last year are beginning to reveal that the evacuees are not at all of one mind. When 10,000 people from different positions in life—rural and urban, unskilled to professional, of different religions, of various political and national outlooks—are suddenly thrown together in one crowded area, a mile square, it is natural that their differences should quickly become evident. The ten Relocation Centers are: Manzanar and Tule Lake, California; Poston and Rivers, Arizona; Rohwer and Jerome, Arkansas; Amache, Colorado; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Topaz, Utah; and Minidoka, Idaho.

Moreover, this situation was early aggravated by the fact that many of these people who had been accustomed to work long hours daily were upon arrival in the Assembly Centers without work for days at a time, without much reading matter, without much entertainment during the monotonous run of unoccupied days. However, in the Relocation Centers the work situation changed and most of the able-bodied were employed. In the Relocation Centers the free hours were naturally used for the discussion of problems. Waiting in line a number of times daily does not lead to peaceful, satisfied thinking. There is time for airing of grievances, for exaggeration of alleged or real mistreatment, for ill-founded gossip, for wild and disturbing rumors of all kinds.

The culture conflicts in Relocation Centers are revealing of differences in attitudes of life. Some of these conflicts and their meanings will be outlined.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The data for this discussion have been secured from firsthand reports from the people, both Japanese and American, residing in the Relocation Centers and

## I

The broadest conflict in the Relocation Centers is between the first-generation Japanese and the Americans of Japanese ancestry. A large majority of the former are loyal to things Japanese, although not necessarily to Japan. German immigrants or French immigrants have brought their culture with them, and they still like many things German or French. Even a Frenchman who becomes a citizen of the United States does not give up his liking for French food. The first-generation Japanese were born in Japan and early acquired an acquaintance with Japanese traditions and customs. As immigrants in the United States they have been culturally enclaved, that is, living in culture islands. They have lived unto themselves, somewhat after the fashion of other racial groups and of groups with particular religious beliefs. Moreover, they have been segregated by the attitudes of many Americans. Although admitted to the United States to render occupational service, they have not been given opportunity to attain citizenship according to the same requirements offered people from other countries. Many of them came to the United States twenty, thirty, or even forty years ago, and during their residence here they have acquired American ways. Nearly all have raised children here and thus have had daily contact with American customs and beliefs.

On the other hand, a large majority of the second generation, or the Americans of Japanese ancestry, have achieved a remarkable degree of American spirit and loyalty. They are known as Nisei (second generation), and there is also an increasing number of small children known as Sansei (third generation). As a class the Nisei

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from the weekly newspapers published in the Centers. A number of articles have been consulted, such as "In the Relocation Centers," by George D. Nickel, *Survey Midmonthly*, January, 1943. Special thanks are expressed to all who have in any way contributed to this discussion.

are struggling to be loyal to American principles. The majority have not been to Japan, and hence the talk about sending the Nisei "back to Japan" is based on ignorance. To most Americans of Japanese ancestry Japan is virtually a foreign country. The only homeland that the majority know is the United States. They have been growing up as citizens somewhat the same as children of German-born or Italian-born parents have been doing.

When large numbers of Issei and Nisei are thrown together in close quarters, with little reading available, and with considerable time for talk, arguments involving loyalty to Japan and to the United States are likely to end in disputes. Before the evacuation took place differences naturally developed between Issei parents and children as they do anywhere, but after evacuation these differences tended to increase because of the closeness of living together and because of the many tensions created by rumors and ill-founded reports that characterized life in Relocation Centers and that were sometimes allowed to multiply and become exaggerated.

Some of the Issei are likely to try to win Nisei over to Japanese loyalty and away from American loyalty. They talk about British imperialism or "American arrogance" as they have experienced it, or they discuss how "the fruits of their toil in the United States have been snatched away from them now." Certain Nisei are susceptible particularly at the point of what World War II is all about. The question is raised: If this is a war for freedom for citizens of the United States who are in good standing, then why have thousands of Americans of Japanese ancestry (who are in good standing) been placed in Relocation Centers? The more the Nisei in the Centers discuss and think over this puzzling question, the more likely a certain percentage will question the nature of American democracy. But the great majority are still defending their American citi-

zenship. In numerous cases the breach between the two generations is growing wider.

The increase of delinquency among the Nisei in the Relocation Centers testifies to the loss of influence of the older generation over the new. The removal of the children from the usual home controls for most of the day and a part of the night, the crowding together of the members of the family, the free and easy contacts with other children who are becoming sophisticated are contributory causes of the increase in delinquency.

For some time the established family system of the Issei in the United States has been breaking down. In the Relocation Centers family life has suffered immeasurably—in fact, far more than the American outside the Centers suspects. The mass feeding system, the closeness of the barracks, and the living in one-room accommodations have taken a heavy toll.

Because of delays in setting up adequate schoolrooms, of obtaining equipment, and so on, educational standards were not maintained at the start in the Centers, and as a result the traditional respect for education on the part of the residents has gone down. Educational institutional control of children has suffered, and parental control has sagged.

The fact that Issei have engaged in pro-Japanese propaganda within the Centers has aroused the virile opposition of large numbers of Nisei. A part of this propaganda has been unconsciously presented by Issei, while those engaging in the more deliberate type are being weeded out and placed in internment centers. The American patriotism of many of the Nisei is outraged by pro-Axis remarks of some of their elders. They "fire back" in true American style, and conflicts arise.

An interesting result of a sociopolitical nature in the Centers arises out of the local self-government proce-

dures. A plan was developed whereby the Nisei, being American citizens, are allowed to vote in the self-government elections; and, since the Issei are not permitted to become American citizens, they may not vote in these elections. Without going into details, it may be said that this arrangement has unexpectedly resulted in serious conflicts between Issei and Nisei. The Issei have pointed out that, since no distinctions were made between them and their children in the evacuation, they should not be deprived of leadership if they are more capable than their inexperienced children. Although a shift in control in the Issei family has been taking place for several years, the Issei find it difficult to be subordinated to their children, for according to Japanese traditions parents have unquestioned control. Hence, for them to have their activities controlled in numerous particulars by their children reverses all their deep-seated traditions, and they scarcely know how to adjust to such a sudden reversal of behavior patterns. Social distance between them and their children is augmented.

The second generation, who are in control, are twenty-one years of age or older, but many seem youthful. In turn, some of them are like many other youth today who are quite untactful in the exercise of their privileges. Since many are just reaching twenty-one years of age, they find difficulty in exercising leadership suddenly. When Nisei flaunt "110 per cent Americanism," they are accused by their elders of being opportunists, and conflicts may ensue.

The Issei are handicapped in making adjustments to a Nisei-dominant society because of their lack of understanding of new American culture patterns. They misinterpret many of the new situations that arise. In their spare time they discuss their loss of control over their children and other grievances, and potential social farness develops apace.

## II

Conflicts in the Relocation Centers arise within the Nisei themselves, that is, between the Kibei and the non-Kibei. The term *Kibei* means "returned generation," and refers to those Nisei who were born in the United States, but who have been to Japan and have returned to the United States. The Kibei have been sent as children to Japan for a part of their education. If they were young enough when in Japan, they acquired something of the spirit of Japanese traditions and upon their return to the United States many have manifested pro-Japanese ways. In their pro-Japanese loyalty they line up with the Issei against the majority of the Nisei. The limitations of the Relocation Centers aggravate this situation.

A few of the Kibei either by themselves or in conjunction with some of the Issei are prone to make life miserable for many of the Nisei who are strongly pro-American. A riot so started by a handful of persons on one side may bring the 10,000 or more residents of a Relocation Center into disrepute. Such a riot reflects unfairly upon the attitudes of the great majority of the residents.

## III

Another type of culture conflict has developed within the Kibei group itself. Those who were sent to Japan when very young and who received a large part of their early education there are likely to be pro-Japanese. Those who went to Japan at the age of twelve or later were generally unhappy there. Japan was a foreign country to them. They reacted against the militarism of Japan. They had developed too many American ways of doing and thinking to be at home in Japan, and in the main they were glad to return to the United States. They could not adjust themselves in Japan. The differences in point of view of the Kibei who were educated early in Japan and the Kibei who were belated in that part of their education

which was received in the mother country are so great that potential conflict obtains. It is important, therefore, not to lump all the Kibei Americans of Japanese ancestry together, but to distinguish between those who were in Japan when very young and those who were older when they lived there.

Many of the Kibei are marginal persons, belonging fully to neither the Issei culture nor the American culture. They are not wholly at home with the Issei, and they are made fun of and taunted by many of the other Nisei. Consequently, they develop mental conflicts and frustrations, at times expressing themselves explosively.

At this point it should be noted that the Nisei may be divided on another basis. Some have dual citizenship and some have American citizenship only. According to the Japanese Law of 1924 the second generation born in the United States who were not registered by their parents with a Japanese consul or other Japanese official within three weeks after birth possess American citizenship only. Those who were so registered may go later to a consul and by a simple declaration be released from Japanese citizenship. Large numbers of those born in the United States have American citizenship only. To a considerable portion of the remaining the Japanese citizenship means little or nothing. In fact, many have publicly notorized statements indicating that they no longer have Japanese citizenship.

The unpleasant experiences of many Nisei in the Assembly Centers and the Relocation Centers have shaken somewhat their American loyalty. Some are becoming disheartened because certain American pressure groups are stirring up hatred against them and would like to take their American citizenship away from them. They experience difficulty in understanding why in a country that is fighting for democracy they should be evacuated from

their homes en masse without being consulted, when they have nothing but credits on their records and when second-generation Germans, for example, are allowed their freedom. Some of them feel that the United States is fighting abroad for freedom while at the same time unduly limiting the freedom of certain of her citizens in good standing by putting them within closely guarded enclosures. Moreover, the reports that some Americans are working to take American citizenship away from the Nisei Americans seem to the latter like Nazi tactics and not the American way.

#### IV

Another distinction to be mentioned is between the Issei who are sometimes known as Hansei and those who are non-Hansei. Hansei means "half generation" and refers to those Issei who have lived in the United States many years—in fact, from one half to two thirds of their lives—and have lost the desire to move back to Japan. Their children have grown up as American citizens and will never go to Japan. If citizenship had been opened to them, many would have become citizens of the United States long ago.

It has been pointed out that American loyalty cannot be measured by citizenship. The liberal prodemocratic Issei have been effective in "winning neutral or apathetic individuals to actively loyal American sentiments." These persons could be very useful "in a democratic, educational program among the Issei." Attention may be called to what has been described "as the amazing and sensational success of the democracy-training class for the Issei in the Santa Anita Assembly Center." Thus, the Issei range all the way from the strongly pro-Japanese to those Hansei who expect to live and die here, who have no more than an attachment of sentiment to the land of their childhood, and who have pro-American interests. It must also be kept

in mind that many Issei were brought as children to the United States by their parents. The latter have died, and these children have virtually grown up in the United States, but they cannot get out from under the classification of Issei.

## V

Another conflict occurs on the basis of occupation. The first and second generation who have lived in large cities and have become urbanized look down upon the rural peasant members or the fisherman members of the Relocation Centers.

Differences occur on the basis of locality-loyalty. Adults who have lived in San Francisco for years make uncomplimentary remarks about other adults who hail from Los Angeles, and vice versa. Those from Seattle also have a locality-loyalty which expresses itself in sharp comments. In the Relocation Centers conflicts have arisen between those who came from different Assembly Centers because of loyalties developed in a short time in the latter.

Differences in degrees of assimilation among the Nisei come to the surface in the Relocation Centers. Here for the first time young people who have grown up in isolated communities are thrown closely together with other young people who in a larger and freely organized cosmopolitan center have become extensively Americanized. Conflicts also occur naturally in the Centers between the college-educated and those with little education. Similarly, conflicts have developed between those who favor dancing and related amusements and those who are opposed.

In the main, the administrative leaders in the Relocation Centers have shown a definite understanding of the aforementioned differences and conflicts. The War Relocation Authority has acted intelligently in a difficult situation. If there has sometimes been inadequacy of administrative action, it has been due to the suddenness of

the rise of the problems, and not to stupidity or to ill will. If a particular situation has got out of hand for a brief spell, the cause is to be found chiefly in the newness of the social problems involved. Understanding, not intolerance, has brought about prompt changes in administrative procedure.

The current program of releasing loyal Americans from the Centers for relocation, for work in war industries, for agricultural work, for services in the army is relieving the pressures within the Centers. The FBI has removed offenders against Americanism from the Centers. The cooperative organization of business in the Centers helps to create a democratic spirit, to do away with vicious competitive practices, and to teach people how to get ahead together instead of ahead of each other. However, the problems attendant upon entering army service in a special combat unit are creating differences of opinion and conflicts. On the whole, however, conflict may be expected to grow less as the population of the Centers declines. The administrative officers are learning from experience, and they will be able to anticipate problems and handle them promptly.

## WAR AND RURAL COOPERATIVES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

JOE J. KING

*Chief, Regional Community and Cooperative Services Section,  
Farm Security Administration, Region XI*

- Cooperative marketing and purchasing enterprise in the rural Pacific Northwest promises to grow and expand under war-generated impetus. Several diverse and interrelated factors are responsible for this somewhat optimistic, but at the same time realistic, prediction.

To begin with, the psychological atmosphere of life in wartime is conducive to the development of cooperative group activity. On every side throughout the nation people are exhorted to cooperate—to cooperate with military authorities, to cooperate with one another, to cooperate with labor and capital, to cooperate with the government. And the Pacific Northwest, like other regions of the United States, is gripped by this same strong spirit of social unity and group action. Relative proximity to enemy Japan, the evacuation of Japanese from coastal areas, the steady erection of more and more vital wartime industrial plants, the construction of army cantonments and air bases, the wide-flung activities of the Office of Civilian Defense, the prevalence of "Know Your Neighbor" weeks, and the determined enthusiasm of an all-out war effort are combining to create a contagious spirit of unity and cohesion.

People, whether in urban or rural communities, are drawing close together. They are learning, if perhaps only slowly, to view their mutual problems as a group. But more important for the postwar period, they are learning by firsthand experience that sustained, harmonious group effort can be exceedingly productive not only of material goods but also of spiritual satisfactions.

Fortifying the development of this psychological bond of group oneness and group activity are indications that the Darwinian explanation of social evolution and social organization may be on the way out of scientific favor. One such indication appeared when Zoologist A. E. Emerson, University of Chicago, recently read a paper before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The significant theme of his paper was that: "Cooperation has been a more important evolutionary force in the development of man than has the bitter competitive struggle for existence."<sup>1</sup> If cooperation, instead of competition, is to become the central core of both social and physical scientific analysis, our entire approach to the details and mechanisms of future social organization will undergo profound change.

But alteration in the theory of social development is hardly enough, in itself, to warrant optimistic prognostications for the future of rural cooperation. As a matter of fact, economic trends in the rural areas of the Pacific Northwest justify and strengthen our realistic prediction. For example, the 1940 United States Census reveals that in 1919 the proportion of all reporting farms engaged in cooperative selling and purchasing in Oregon was 9.6 per cent, in Washington 11.2 per cent, and in Idaho 8.9 per cent. But by 1939 these percentages had increased in Oregon to 31.2 per cent, in Washington to 33.5 per cent, and in Idaho to 33.8 per cent. The Spokane Bank for Cooperatives, in its printed publications on "Farmer Co-ops" in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, provides more detailed material in narrative style on the historical background of these cooperative facilities. All of the evidence that this author has been able to gather in library study and field observation does not lead him to believe that these growth trends will be reversed by war dynamics. To the

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<sup>1</sup> *Time*, January 12, 1942, p. 43.

contrary, the trends will probably continue, for some of the lend-lease funds used in the purchase of agricultural processed products are being channeled into the hands of already existing farmer-producer cooperatives.

Then, too, our examination of rural cooperation in the Pacific Northwest would be hopelessly inadequate without a direct reference to the Bonneville Dam and, from now on, also the Grand Coulee Dam. Grange groups, with particular emphasis in Oregon, have been militant leaders in advocating public ownership of electric power and have also been active in organizing People's Utility Districts, generally known as PUD's. At present forty-four PUD's are in existence in the Pacific Northwest, with additional communities considering PUD organization. The Rural Electrification Administration has also been active in the region, having assisted fifty rural electric cooperative projects. It is true, of course, that little expansion in the REA projects, and perhaps even the PUD's, can be anticipated during the war period. Electric power from Bonneville is badly needed for war industrial activities. But after the war the presently expanded and expanding output of Bonneville, and later Grand Coulee, will doubtless be available to cooperative associations for wide distribution into rural areas.

Another significant factor contributing to a favorable environment for continued cooperative development is the official attitude of the large farm organizations. The American Farm Bureau, the National Grange, the Farmers Union, and the National Council of Farmers Cooperatives are all intensely active in promoting cooperative marketing and purchasing associations among their Pacific Northwest members. Independent cooperative associations like the Pacific Supply Cooperative, the Boise Valley Gas and Oil Cooperative, and others are also pushing ahead. Possible dangers which lurk in some of these

cooperative developments, however, consist of inequitable restrictions on membership and needless competition between the farm organization cooperatives and independent cooperatives.

At the same time that the five elements outlined above are "pulling," other powerful forces and circumstances are figuratively "pushing" farmers into cooperative group activity. The most prominent of these forces is the rationing of rubber tires, gasoline, and farm equipment. Farmers are commencing to think in terms of cooperation with their neighbors in hauling produce to market and supplies to the farm. Newspapers are carrying stories of small "neighborhood cooperatives," organized so that farmers may maximize the use of available rubber tires and farm trucks. County Rationing committees are instructed to refuse to issue purchase certificates for new farm machinery to a single farmer until the would-be buyer can demonstrate that the machine will be operated to the highest point of its capacity. Scores of farmers, because of these war-caused rationing orders, are increasingly turning to the simple cooperative technique of joint ownership of equipment. They are gradually recognizing that here is a technique whereby the Good Neighbor policy may be utilized at home to help solve the problem of equipment shortages and also implement the Food for Freedom program.

With farmers beginning to practice the group approach in order to solve their equipment problems, it seems fairly obvious that very soon they should reveal a desire to follow the same approach in meeting their seasonal farm labor problems. Eugene, Oregon, bean growers in 1942 planned a program whereby the bean growers in the area could utilize the community labor to the fullest extent. Other rural communities have made, and are making, similar plans for 1943. Idaho beet growers have organized

district groups so that efficient labor management may be followed.

Various public agencies like the Extension Service, the Farm Placement Service, the Agricultural Marketing Service, the Farm Security Administration, and others have been petitioned by farmers to aid them in meeting their farm labor problems. Their answers, in the main, have been recommendations for group or cooperative action. And now their recommendations are being put into action-planning for the 1943 harvest season.

Besides these major factors which are stimulating *all* farmers in the Pacific Northwest to adopt the cooperative group approach in meeting their problems, several additional forces are suggesting to small farmers that they utilize the same approach in meeting their peculiar problems. At the outset, there are the adverse economic conditions of a large segment of the rural people in the region. The 1940 United States Census shows a total of 187,178 farms in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Of this total, 55,287 farms are under 20 acres in size. Many of these farms are located in the logged-off areas of western Washington, Oregon, and northern Idaho; many are uneconomic units; many are carved out of submarginal lands; others are 1930's depression-born "dreams of economic independence on the land"; and most of them fail to supply adequate employment opportunities for the owner.

The 1940 United States Census reveals, moreover, that 43 per cent of the farm families in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho received a total gross annual income (including value of goods used at home) of less than \$600. This means that a large number of rural families are lacking in capital, credit resources, job training, health facilities, equipment, and all the remaining advantages which accompany an adequate income. True enough, many of these low-income farm families have migrated to coast defense

centers. But many others, having a small investment in the land and suffering from fear of unemployment in the postwar period, remain on the soil. They are the "forgotten people" of the Pacific Northwest. Their greatest and most fundamental problem is an acute and severe lack of economic opportunity.

This reservoir of underemployed power<sup>2</sup> can be tapped chiefly by cooperative action. Following the same general cooperative practices as those used by the small-scale, efficient Danish, Finnish, and Swedish farmers, the small farmers in the Pacific Northwest can materially increase their economic opportunities, swell their incomes, and proudly participate in the Food for Freedom program. Cooperatively they can take advantage of all the most modern advances in agricultural science. Not only is their production of food essential during the present emergency, but their active sincere faith in the economic potentiality of the democratic process is of tremendous significance for the postwar period.

While much of all this is granted, many well-meaning individuals fail to recognize that these small farmers lack the finances, training, and inclination for even the most simple type of cooperative program. For this reason, and believing it to be a wartime duty of the highest order, Farm Security Administration is pushing ahead on its cooperative program. Emphasis is being focused on the encouragement and financing of the joint ownership of farm equipment, pure-bred sires, and other facilities. Advice and assistance are given to FSA borrowers to participate in already existing cooperative marketing and purchasing associations. County FSA supervisors are carrying the message of cooperation to the small farmers in the region.

<sup>2</sup> The deep significance of the "underemployed" now on farms is sharply indicated in the speech which Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, made on October 5, 1942, before the National Catholic Rural Life Conference at Peoria, Illinois. The subject is "The Challenge of Underemployment on Farms."

Already 1,800 simple FSA cooperative services are operating in the Pacific Northwest. It is anticipated that this foundation will greatly expand.

By way of conclusion, it should be remembered that this cooperative expansion among rural families is not only helping to win the war speedily, but also helping to lay a sensible and practical foundation for a democratic post-war period.<sup>3</sup> Trends are starting now, not in some far-off day, to bring about a rural economy in the Pacific Northwest where there will be a balanced system of business institutions—private, public, and cooperative.

<sup>3</sup> In February H. E. Babcock, President of the National Council of Farmers' Cooperatives, made this statement: "Seen in its true light, the bona fide farmer-owned, farmer-controlled cooperative more effectively guarantees the continuation of free enterprise, in a country which free enterprise has made great, than does the ordinary business corporation. Business corporations serve capital—cooperatives serve both capital and men who might otherwise lack the resources to indulge in free enterprise"; in *Better Rural Life*, published by Rhode Island State College Extension Service, November, 1942, p. 1 in the article "Farm Cooperative Movement Grows," by J. L. Tennant.

## PACIFIC COAST NOTES

### *University of Arizona*

Dr. E. W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, was a visitor in Tucson during the winter quarter. He was guest of honor at a dinner meeting of the University of Arizona Social Science Club February 25 and spoke on his studies predicting the success of marriage. Dr. Burgess is working on a book on the family.

Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Professor of Rural Sociology, has an article in the March issue of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* entitled "Population Characteristics and Trends in Arizona." This is an abbreviated version of the paper that was read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, Texas, December, 1941. The results of the study of farm labor requirements, 1942, and of labor available in the state were published in *Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 186*, November, 1942, under the title, "Wanted—Man Power on Arizona Farms." A preliminary view of the labor situation for 1943 has been set forth in Mimeographed Report No. 52, *Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station*. Recently a manuscript was completed entitled "The Impact of War on Some Communities in the Southwest." Dr. Tetreau continues the analysis of the structure of the Arizona rural society.

Dr. Frederick A. Conrad was the University faculty member elected to membership in the honor society of Phi Kappa Phi in the spring election of the University of Arizona chapter. He has continued his research in population trends and completed a manuscript which was published in the March issue of the *Elementary School Journal*, "Urban Population Trends and the Public School."

### *The University of British Columbia*

Miss Mary C. Gleason, B.A. (Vassar), M.Sc. (Smith), has been appointed Assistant Professor of Social Work and Supervisor of Field Work. Miss Gleason is offering a seminar and a general course in social case work. Mr. Gordon Hearn, B.A. (Manitoba), has replaced Mr. Mel Chater, B.Sc. (Y.M.C.A. College), as Lecturer in Social Group Work. Dr. George Davidson (Harvard), former Lecturer in Community Organization, has been appointed Executive Director, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa. Miss Laura Holland, C.B.E., Hon. Lecturer in Medical Information, has been appointed Adviser on Social Welfare Policy to the Provincial Secretary with headquarters in Victoria. Pro-

fessor Henry F. Angus, Head of the Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology, has remained at Ottawa, on leave of absence, as Special Adviser in the Department of External Affairs. Professor Joseph A. Crumb attended the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association in Toronto, where he gave a paper on fiscal policy.

#### *University of California (Los Angeles)*

Dr. Constantine Panunzio is making a series of studies on "War and Population" for early publication.

#### *University of Oregon*

Dr. Philip Parsons, head of the department, passed away on March 14 of heart attack. His course on Sociological Aspects of Religious Institutions is being offered by Dr. Samuel Haig Jameson.

#### *University of Redlands*

The U. S. Forestry Service has asked Dr. Glen E. Carlson to serve with them this summer to make a study of human relationships. Dr. Carlson has recently completed a series of community forums and lectures in San Bernardino that has led to the development of a Community Council to deal with many of the problems that face a rapidly expanding defense area.

#### *The University of Southern California*

Dr. Clarence M. Case is teaching a half-time schedule this semester.

Professor Harry C. Harmsworth of the College of Mines and Metallurgy of the University of Texas received the Ph.D. degree at the Convocation on January 31. His dissertation was entitled "Social Phases of the Cooperative Insurance Movement in the United States."

Speakers and topics at recent meetings of Alpha Kappa Delta (Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan, president) have been as follows: Dr. David Henley, "Second-Generation Japanese"; Mr. Harry Henderson, "Second-Generation Mexicans"; Mr. Floyd Covington, "Negroes and Their Problems in Los Angeles"; and Dr. G. B. Mangold, "The Beveridge Plan and Its Sociological Import."

The Sociology Luncheon Club (William B. Nash, Jr., chairman) conducted the following programs in March and April: Dr. W. W. Fisher, "The Japanese Relocation Centers"; Dr. G. B. Mangold, "The American Beveridge Plan for Social Security"; Miss Claire Udell, "Social Phases of Housing in the Los Angeles Area"; and Professor Ruby S. Inlow, "Psychological Phases of Postwar Reconstruction."

*The State College of Washington*

Six members of the Sociology staff have entered the armed forces and war services. Dr. Delbert C. Miller is with the Personnel Division of the Sperry Gyroscope Company, New York; Dr. Henry J. Meyer, with the Statistical Division of the War Labor Board, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Paul H. Landis, with the Office of Agricultural War Relations, Denver; Dr. H. Ashley Weeks, with the Office of War Information, Washington, D.C. Dr. Fred R. Yoder and Dr. Joseph Birdsell have entered the armed forces.

Two temporary appointments have been made: Dr. Gordon H. Armbruster of the London School of Economics, Instructor in Sociology, and Dr. Carl W. Strow of the University of Chicago, Instructor in Sociology. Professor Carl E. Dent has been made acting head of the department.

There are two studies in process: A Study of International Understanding and Attitudes, under the direction of Dr. Fred R. Yoder, and A Study of Farm Labor in Washington, by Dr. Carl F. Reuss.

(*To Be Continued*)

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## OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

**CITIES ARE FOR PEOPLE.** By MEL SCOTT. Los Angeles: The Los Angeles Region Plans for Living, 1942, pp. 109.

**TECHNOLOGY AND THE ECONOMICS OF TOTAL WAR.** By LYMAN CHALKLEY. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 24.

**SIAM—LAND OF FREE MEN.** By H. G. DEIGNAN. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1943, pp. 18.

**SYNTHETIC ELEMENTS OF WAR.** By I. J. ALEXANDER. New York: The Mocking Bird Press, 1943, pp. 50.

**ASPECTS OF A WAR.** By ROBERT B. HEILMAN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1943, pp. 200 (Radio Forums of the Louisiana State University).

**CONSUMER EDUCATION FOR WARTIME LIVING.** Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Council of Defense, 1943, pp. 99.

**AN ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL SURVEY OF THE LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO AREA.** By ARTHUR G. COONS and ARJAY R. MILLER. Sacramento: California State Planning Board, pp. 411 (mimeographed).

**SALARIES AND QUALIFICATIONS OF CHILD WELFARE WORKERS IN 1941.** By RALPH G. HURLIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, pp. 27.

## RACES AND CULTURE

**THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF NEW GUINEA.** By M. W. STIRLING. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1943, pp. iv+25.

Concise descriptions are given of the Negritos, the Papuans, and the Melanesians. Because of the new international developments coming out of World War II, "New Guinea's long period as a kind of natural history museum and living exhibit of stone-age social phenomena is probably about at an end." One map and twenty-six plates add to the value of the monograph.

**AMERICAN NEGROES, A Handbook.** By EDWIN R. EMBREE. New York: The John Day Company, 1942, pp. 79.

This small but meaty volume is intended to be used as a guide for study groups. Pertinent but limited data are given in a sprightly way to engage the attention of readers. The topics include the following: a new race, brown Americans; living in the new world; keeping alive; half Nazi, half democrat; dark melody; and democracy marches on; books by and about Negroes. The author, who has traveled widely and studied race problems earnestly, has written understandingly about the Negro's problems in the United States.

**JEWISH POPULATION STUDIES.** By SOPHIA M. ROBISON, Editor. New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943, pp. xvi+189.

The Conference on Jewish Relations has long recognized the need for a scientific study of Jewish populations in leading American cities. The present volume concerns itself with the size, occupations, neighborhood distribution, and citizenship status of Jews in Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, New London, Norwich, Passaic, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and Trenton. Such a study can aid materially in the work of local organizations and in taking a census of American Jewry.

The findings of the study confirm the facts gathered earlier: namely, the Jewish population of leading cities is on the decline and tends to concentrate in certain sections of the city; the size of the family also is declining; the size of the native-born Jewish population is on the increase; the proportion of naturalized foreign-born Jews is greater than of non-Jews; most of the gainfully employed Jews are engaged in retail trade, although the proportion of Jews engaged in manual work is on the increase.

The study is largely statistical. It was scientifically conducted and is well presented. The volume is highly readable and should be of interest not only to Jewish organizations and communities but to any group concerned with the structure and analysis of local populations. E.F.Y.

**CHINA'S GIFTS TO THE WEST.** By DERK BODDE. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942, pp. 40.

In addition to thinking about our heritage from Europe, we need to be mindful also of "China's gifts to the West," suggests H. E. Wilson in the Foreword. These gifts from China are briefly described under such headings as silk, tea, porcelain, paper, printing, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, plants, medicines, lacquer, games, and amusements. Several excellent drawings and pictures enhance the value of the brochure.

**BEHIND THE JAPANESE MASK.** By JESSE F. STEINER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, pp. 159.

As the author at one time taught English in Japan and revisited that country a few years ago, his words carry the weight of a firsthand observer. He explains the claims of the Japanese to divine origin, their "rising tide of race hatred," the role of the warrior and militarism, the attitudes toward women, the regimentation of the people, the exploitation of the poor, and the strength and weakness of "Japanese character." While a number of these "weaknesses" are by no means peculiar to the Japanese, some are especially exaggerated in their case. Japan is described as a powerful nation, "modern in all the arts of warfare but medieval in religious conceptions, moral ideas, and philosophy of life." Sensitivity to criticism and fear of ridicule are pointed out as Japanese characteristics, but what proud people do not have these traits? Political corruption, dishonesty in business, treachery in war are also cited; but these are traits not peculiar to the Japanese. Many readers will not accept the statement that we still look upon the Japanese as "a peculiar people whose American-born children are so unpredictable that it is futile to undertake to distinguish the loyal from the disloyal." These readers will feel that the author has written a "war book" incorporating the worst and omitting the best traits, and lumping the good and bad together as bad.

**THE CHANGING INDIAN.** Edited by OLIVER LAFARGE. A Symposium arranged by the American Association on Indian Affairs, Inc.; Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942, pp. x+184.

In this splendidly printed volume appear sixteen articles, introduced with a Foreword by John Collier, and showing how the Indian is making progress in terms of health, economic life, and education. He is increasing in numbers, outgrowing the reservations on which he lives, and in need of greatly expanded help, particularly of more and better land. He has the oldest heritage in the nation, a traditional skill and knowledge in the use of tools and materials, and "a wealth of forms and designs that is unequalled" in the United States.

## SOCIAL THEORY

**MAN AND SOCIETY IN CALAMITY.** By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. New York:  
E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1942, pp. 352.

In this study are discussed four calamities: famine, pestilence, war, and revolution. It is shown how all of them, either singly or together, influence our affective and emotional life, our behavior and vital processes, our social mobility, our political and economic organization, and our sociocultural life. These four calamities, or "horsemen," are on the rampage in World War II on a greater scale than ever before, and they may be better understood through an evaluation in terms of similar experiences of primitive and ancient societies as well as of contemporary peoples.

The author indicates that, if our leaders were truly rational, practical, and realistic, such catastrophes could have been avoided today. It is well to hope for a peaceful world order after the war, but those who are excessively optimistic should read this book for its common-sense warnings concerning problems that will undoubtedly have to be faced. It will not be easy to achieve the reintegration of religious, moral, scientific, philosophical, and other values as the author suggests; but it is through such means that he is hopeful of having man ever escape these four dread calamities. Furthermore, this new system of values must be rooted primarily in the values of moral duty and the Kingdom of God. Only if the latter value is realized, will great calamities become unnecessary and meaningless in human history. It is up to us to choose whether we are to go from calamity to calamity, or find a rational way out. J.E.N.

**NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS.** By WALTER SULZBACH. Introduction by  
HANS KOHN. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs,  
1943, pp. x+168.

Professor Sulzbach of the Claremont Colleges presents the point of view that national consciousness, best personified by patriotism, is a more compelling form of universal control than either religious or class consciousness. He cites a considerable number of revealing examples to illustrate his point. It is shown that the friction between Catholics and Protestants of almost every Western country is of little significance compared with the intense conflict generated by nations competing for status and economic advantage. As an example, Sulzbach believes that it is more likely that the German and Czech nations will fight each other than that German and Czech Protestants should combine to make war against the Roman Catholics of both countries. It was the first World

War that shattered the supposed international unity of Communists. French and German Communists fought for their respective countries and relegated to the background their common political ideology of communism. Another example portraying the same pattern might be found in Soviet Russia, for it is clear that Russia is more concerned with the survival of the U.S.S.R. than with the perpetuation or spreading of communism throughout the world.

Professor Sulzbach notes that national consciousness is a powerful form of secular religion and has its parades, processions, pilgrimages, and its distinctive holy days. For some people the activities of the secular religion may compensate for the shortcomings of nationalism. In the building of a peaceful world order it seems evident that some of the negative aspects of national consciousness will have to be changed and modified. We shall have to rid ourselves of the traditional war spirit. The fighting impulse will have to be sublimated and national ideologies refuted and ridiculed. Intellectual reasoning will not prove so effective and so ridiculing as the heroic concept held by nationalists. The book is interestingly written, the point of view is provocative, and the conclusions are constructive.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY

**FAMILY TREASURES.** By DAVID D. WHITNEY. Lancaster, Pa.: The Jaques Cattell Press, 1942, pp. 299.

Professor Whitney has herewith presented a book on heredity for those interested in the personal inheritance of family traits and for amateurs in the study of heredity. The subject of heredity in man has been made most intriguing by specializing in each chapter on some specific single trait, like hair, eyes, mouth, hands, or feet. The single trait selected for each chapter is traced through from two to five generations of a single family to illustrate the real meaning of the phrase, "runs in the family." The discussion in each chapter is generously illustrated with photographs secured by the author from among his friends and students, contributed at the bargain price of \$2.50 for the first and second generations and \$5.00 for the third—and well worth the price too, for they make the book something to enjoy while one is being educated. Some of the better-known dominant and recessive traits of man are carefully tabulated in a useful table in the final chapter. Useful and authoritative references are given at the close of each chapter. The book is really a fine popular guide to heredity and would make valuable reading for engaged couples.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: IN AN ERA OF WORLD UPHEAVAL. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942, pp. xx+927.

"This book attempts to describe our institutional equipment in a period of far-reaching and unpredictable social change." With this statement as the theme of the book, the author proceeds to analyze our basic institutions in the light of world-wide revolutionary changes. After considering the foundation and framework of social institutions, the material deals mainly with the economic, political, legal, communication, and family institutions, followed by a concise treatment of the institutions promoting richer living, particularly religion, education, leisure, and the arts.

Like Barnes' previous books, this one is full of factual material carefully scrutinized. The reader may feel that the author is too critical at times. However, due credit is given institutions that are adjusting themselves to new needs. It is the conviction of the author that we are passing through a more critical period of cultural transformation than the world has ever experienced "because the tempo is far swifter than in any earlier era of change and because the problems of control and adjustment involved are infinitely more complex than they were in simpler agrarian and provincial epochs." The chief factor in our dilemma today is that science and technology have outstripped institutional adjustments. Hence, it is imperative that we take a look at the backward state of our institutional life in order to ascertain the reasons for our condition and to find a solution for the situation thrust upon us by dynamos, automatic machines, radios, and numerous other devices of material culture.

M.H.N.

NET IMPRESSIONS. By A. G. KELLER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 349.

Professor Keller has summed up his ideas on various matters of sociological import. He cuts loose from scientific method and indulges in what he calls opinions, not demonstrations. He seeks to escape from "learned apparatus." He discusses method in the science of society and boils it down largely to plain and common sense, focused attention, and the study of historical records of what man has done. He includes chapters on marriage, the family, population limitation, youth, religion, and the fear of death. His chapter on sociologists will arouse the most criticism, not because he puts Sumner first, but because Spencer, Lippert, and Pareto are made the other three writers who are admitted to the highest level of sociologists. The work of Ward, Small, and Giddings (except as a teacher) is depreciated. A clear style, a common-sense approach, and vigorous assertions characterize these essays by Sumner's outstanding disciple.

**SLAVES NEED NO LEADERS.** By WALTER M. KOTSCHNIG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. xvi+284.

Reading this book makes one aware that "war is being fought in the schools as much as on the battlefields." The first part gives a graphic description of the Fascist process of educational suffocation in occupied countries in order to subjugate the people to slavery under German masters. The second part outlines in general terms the function of education in postwar reconstruction. It is a pleasure to note the author's statement of educational ideals and hopes, although the actual content of any educational program cannot be specified at this time; and, in any case, when we get to that stage of planning there will be many national variations. The author makes no absurd claims for education in the reconstruction process; he realizes that education by itself will not create a new social or intellectual order, but it can prepare people to make rational choices, and it is necessary first to teach them permanent values and concepts essential for a better world order. Britain apparently is more revolutionary in temper than we are, and education in that country promises to undergo startling changes. The author advocates cooperation between nations in order to rehabilitate education after the war, also in order to modify the purposes of education, but he does not suggest the use of methods depending on force.

J.E.N.

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POPULATION.** By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., pp. xiv+467.

For new insight into the problems of *Lebensraum*, planned population, intercontinental population movements, and particularly for a discussion of the optimum population, this book is timely and highly commendable. The principal feature is the analysis of the optimum in terms of ecology, economics, social and institutional factors, political or military factors; and finally all of these are integrated.

Some of the following views of the author are typical: man differs from other animals in the adjustments of population to food supply and external conditions of life; since man is not instinct bound, he is influenced by culture, economic, social, political, and other criteria. War is not a biological necessity due to overpopulation; it is rather an outcome of social and cultural maladjustments or aberrations. Racism and an optimum population are incompatible. We are to think not only of national optimum but of a world optimum population, which would depend largely on the migration of surplus population to empty but similar climatic regions. There is also stress on interregional problems in plan-

ning a world economy. It is shown that regional economy is an intermediate stage between national and world economy.

Studies of population need to be phrased in such manner as to assist world economic planning and social reconstruction, and this book is a bold departure in the right direction. Although it is essentially a theoretical discussion, with very little statistical data included, the style of presentation is simple and attractive, and the book may be recommended equally for layman or scholar.

J.E.N.

**DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE.** By SEBA ELDREDGE and  
Associates. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1943, pp. vii+577.

This challenging volume is the result of a five-year investigation of collective enterprise by a group of thirty collaborators. The two principal purposes of the book are (1) to determine through an inductive study the basic factors in the growth of collective undertakings and (2) to examine these undertakings as going concerns, including the underlying controls, administrative patterns, financial policies, personnel conditions, and, as far as possible, their operational efficiencies. Twenty major fields of enterprise are analyzed, ten of them already socialized, the other ten undergoing socialization. The *socialized* enterprises are the protection of persons and property, roads and streets, harbors and waterways, the postal service, urban waterworks and sewerage systems, land reclamation, education and research, social work and institutional care, social clubs and fraternal societies, libraries and museums. The authors designate the following fields as *undergoing socialization*: forestry, electric power, rural resettlement, housing, banking and credit, property insurance, life insurance, minimum income insurance, medical service and health care, recreation and leisure-time activity.

The collected studies all point to the conclusion that the primary factors in the growth of collective enterprise have been consumers and public interests. The evidence uncovered in this work strongly suggests that the Marxian doctrine that a collectivistic regime is to be established through the action of the wage-earning class does not apply in the United States. It seems clear that the *users* have been the most significant element initiating these collective enterprises previously mentioned. At least, there is more reason to believe that Eldridge's hypothesis has more scientific and inductive reasoning supporting it than the Marxian hypothesis has. The material contained in this volume is well written, carefully edited, and a synthetically organized collaboration.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY

**LEADERSHIP AT WORK.** Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association. Harold Spears, *Chairman*, William Alexander, Roosevelt Basler, Hollis L. Caswell, Ruth Cunningham, Ruth Henderson, J. Paul Leonard, Rudolph D. Lindquist, Alice Miel, and Dale Zeller.

Joe Brown of Centerville was a hypothetical teacher who with a surge of ambition attempted to set up an elaborate system of leadership in his hypothetical school. His network of leader technics was of little avail and much bemoaned until through trial and circumstance (and group action) the elusive character of leadership was discovered. He found that results came only when he started with real problems that made sense to everybody and let technics come along as needed, and that the old conventional methods when applied to new situations of imminent community needs took on new meaning.

The first chapter introduces a new concept of leadership in terms of school practice. Leadership must transcend the function of chairmanship. Democratic leadership must, above all else, be leadership which builds within the mass of people the power to analyze their problems and to improve their own methods of work and living. Beyond this, it consists in developing special capacities in those best qualified to grow in specific areas. A good leader is one who projects and proposes beyond the level of existing thought. The authors cite thought-provoking ideas in their suggested improvements that can be made in those teachers' organizations whose memberships have failed to assume authority, and in the demonstration that necessity develops novel approaches in leadership. Examples of new organizations for leadership are given which owe their effectiveness to diversified sources of leadership, to long-range planning, and to the development of new leadership.

WILLIAM D. SPENCER

**MY FRIENDS, THE APES.** By BELLE J. BENCHLEY. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942, pp. xv+296.

In this book "the only woman zoo director in the world" describes in a firsthand way her interesting and understanding experiences with the anthropoid apes that live in the San Diego Zoo. Three or four chapters are given to each of the ape families, namely, gibbons, orangs, chimpanzees, and gorillas. Their near-human traits are presented in fascinating details. Their methods of communication and their social relations with each other are valuable data for the student of social psychology.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

**RESEARCH GUIDE ON COOPERATIVE GROUP FARMING.** By JOSEPH W. EATON and SAUL M. KATZ. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1942, pp. 86.

Titles and annotations are given regarding a large number of "cooperative group farms" of the past and present. The term "cooperative" is used too inclusively, but the materials constitute a valuable reference work.

**HOW YOU CAN MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK.** By EUGENE T. LIES. New York: Association Press, 1942, pp. x+131.

In this little book, so chatty that it almost makes the "listener-reader" nostalgic for a cup of tea, Eugene T. Lies pulls up his chair, as it were, and attempts to bring home the realization that our American democracy is in peril and that its salvation can be begun right in the old home town, indeed right in the family. It must be begun here, for its danger lies chiefly in the indifference and inertia of these two groups. In a series of chapters (one wants to write conversations) covering every area of community life and relationship, the author points out the sins of omission and commission as well as the ideal virtues and what to do about them. Basically practical and practicable, *How You Can Make Democracy Work* is also provocative and stimulating in its fresh simplicity.

WILLIAM B. NASH, JR.

**CAN OUR CITIES SURVIVE?** By J. L. SERT. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xv+259.

This book was prepared under the auspices of the International Congresses for Modern Architecture. It reflects the collective work of many years of endeavor to gather from all parts of the world material on city planning from a human point of view. The volume is replete with illustrations, photographs, maps, and other data that give the reader a visual picture of what is going on in modern cities. Specifically, the material deals with town planning, urban dwellings (slums and other housing problems), requirements of dwelling areas, recreation, week-end vacations, work places, the evolution of means of production, transportation, urban street system, the total view of the city, barriers to large-scale planning, how planned action can save cities, and man in the city. Although the book is written from the standpoint of city planners and modern architects, urban sociologists will find in it much useful material. The human side is stressed throughout.

M.H.N.

**LEARNING AND TEACHING IN THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL WORK.**  
By BERTHA CAPEN REYNOLDS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942,  
pp. 390.

This book expresses the point of view that a generic social work is beginning to appear, based upon a core of theory common to all social work, whether taking the form of case work, group work, or community organization. Such a core of theory is found in the growing body of knowledge about human behavior, which not only furnishes a common ground for all varieties of social work but links them to other professional disciplines such as psychiatry, psychology, medicine, and education. The author sees social work always in relation to the society within which it functions, and believes it possible that "the best contribution of social case work in this period will be in what it can give to the other fields, and to administration, in understanding of human relationships." The time has come when it is important to emphasize common elements rather than differences; emphasis is placed on "the openminded understanding of the clients and their life situations" as a unifying concept.

The book is made up of five parts: I—A Point of View about Social Work; II—About Learning an Art; III—Learning and Teaching in Groups; IV—Supervision of Practice; V—Working through Others. The last chapter, "Social Work Goes Back to the People," is a most helpful discussion of work with volunteers. There is also an Appendix, containing a record of a case discussion.

*Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work*, with its "unifying" purpose, with its orientation in the present while facing the future, marks a milestone in social work literature and should be read by every person engaged in social work or interested in the profession.

RUBY S. INLOW

**SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** By JOHN L. GILLIN, CLARENCE G. DITTMER, ROY J.  
COLBERT, and NORMAN M. KASTNER. Third edition; New York: D. Apple-  
ton-Century Company, 1943, pp. xii+528.

The fourth-mentioned author is credited in the Preface with performing most of the work of revision involved in this edition. The first edition appeared in 1928 and the second in 1932. When a comparison is made with the first edition, it is found that the thirty chapters of the latter have been reduced to twenty in the new book, that twenty-two figures have been cut down to seventeen, and that thirty tables involving recent data are added. The earlier division into parts has been eliminated, and the undue space given to population problems has been shortened greatly. Extensive revisions in subject matter have been made throughout the third edition, and the order of appearance of the chapters has been

completely overhauled. New chapter headings also appear. The social problems treated are race, population, industry, social aspects of education, social phases of religion, public health, poverty, crime, and penology. Introductory chapters deal with social change and group conflict; and concluding chapters, with social adjustments. The revision puts the book in the forefront of the current textbooks on social problems.

**COOPERATIVE HOUSING.** *Studies of the Cooperative Project.* By V. J. TERESHTENKO and Research Staff of the Cooperative Project. New York (70 Columbus Ave.): Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund, Inc., 1942, pp. xiii+267.

In this seventh publication of the Cooperative Project of the WPA of New York, there appear 512 digests and abstracts of publications dealing with cooperative housing. The first 139 of these brief statements relate to cooperative housing proper, and the remaining items give attention to building and loan associations, housing copartnership associations, and similar organizations. Mr. Tereshtenko has succinctly summarized some of the more important features of cooperative housing, pointing out how this type of human activity develops "the spirit of self-help and cooperative action," establishes a democratic form of administration, affords "a liberal education in democracy in action," goes a long way toward "eliminating the usual indifference of the ordinary city dweller toward his neighbors," and leads to other cooperative activities, such as operating cooperative laundries, libraries, nursery schools, stores, and the like. Some of the obstacles to cooperative housing are also noted. The usefulness of this important reference work is augmented by an author index, a topical index, an index of organizations, and a geographical index. E.S.B.

**GRASS ROOTS POLITICS.** *National Voting Behavior of Typical States.* By HAROLD F. GOSNELL. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. ix+195.

After pointing out the weaknesses and inaccuracies of public opinion polls as a means of analyzing national political behavior, the author here describes a research experiment in which the technique used is almost exactly the reverse of the "straw vote." By this method the research expert waits until after the election, ascertains how the various economic and social groups vote, and then attempts to explain why each group voted as it did.

The six states included in this study are Pennsylvania and Illinois (states which parallel national trends), California, Wisconsin, and Iowa (characteristic states that tend to swing with the nation but more vio-

lently), and Louisiana (belonging to the Solid South, where voting behavior shows no relation to national trends).

Perhaps the most significant fact revealed is that "those counties which resembled each other as to economic and social composition also tended to behave in the same fashion politically. Thus, the dairy sections of Wisconsin and Northern Illinois were anti-New Deal, the corn belts of Iowa and Illinois were loosened from their Republican moorings of the 1920's, the coal mining sections of Pennsylvania and Illinois were strongly New Deal and remained so during the 1930's, and the larger cities of the North showed a marked leaning toward the Democratic party." (p. vii)

An analysis of only six states naturally provides a limited basis for interpreting national political behavior; hence, the principal value of this study is the technique rather than the conclusions. Since this technique must be applied after an election, it cannot be regarded as a substitute for the straw vote.

W. G. SWARTZ

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY

**THE SUBNORMAL ADOLESCENT GIRL.** By THEODORA M. ABEL and ELAINE F. KINDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 215.

This volume deals with the subnormal girl between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, at which time she faces many problems of personal and social adjustment. The chapters deal in concrete fashion with these problems as they manifest themselves in the home, at school, in industry, and in institutions. The first chapter offers definitions of subnormality and outlines the various kinds of tests and measurements which are utilized to discover mental inadequacy and personal frustrations. Subnormal girls, like their normal sisters, react in terms of their individual personalities and in terms of their social situations. The subnormal girl is presented in relation to other persons and to the community in which she lives. Here is exemplified the sociological tenet that all phases of association and environment must be studied in relation to any specific individual problem. Causal factors (origins) are both endogenic and exogenic, and the social treatment must utilize all the agencies available in a given situation. The need for careful, patient counseling based upon an appreciation of the girl's individual attitudes and goals and ambitions, and upon her social situation, emphasizes once more the validity of the gestalt approach for both study and treatment of individual problems.

The bibliography is excellent. The style is clear cut and the case material is pertinent. The authors have had much experience in the field of clinical psychology, but in addition have a keen appreciation of the complementary values of both the social and the cultural aspects of human association.

B.A.MCC.

**THE FAMILY AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.** By JOSEPH K. FOLSOM.  
New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1943, pp. xiii+755.

Professor Folsom has not merely revised his previous book on the family but completely reorganized and rewritten it. Furthermore, the arrangement is better and some of the material that seemed irrelevant to the subject has been omitted. The section on Frustration and Personality Change is less laborious and more pertinent than in the former edition; and the author, in classifying the love feelings, has wisely displaced the "cardiac-respiratory" type with "rapturous" love. Freudianism also is not so generously accepted as in the older book.

Among the valuable new materials is that relating to family change in Germany, Russia, and Sweden. Family limitation and positive eugenics are likewise very effectively discussed. New chapters deal with home-making and with men and women in a democracy. The author has drawn extensively on the many special studies of family problems that have been made in recent years. As a consequence, the book becomes somewhat encyclopedic in character. Additional comments on the validity of some of these findings would have been helpful. The final chapter, entitled "Unsolved Problems," treats the subject rather warily, but closes with definite suggestions and opinions. The Appendix provides the reader with an excellent bibliography. For an advanced course on the family, this book will serve as a useful text.

G.B.M.

**ECONOMICS AND PROBLEMS OF LABOR.** By PHILIP TAFT. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Sons, 1942, pp. xx+994.

Professor Taft offers a huge volume on the labor problem, which is on the whole a most excellent survey of the labor movement in the United States. The account begins with a brief historical sketch of the rise of modern industry and then proceeds to discuss one of the underlying causes of social, economic, and political problems, namely, unemployment. Setting the stage for the principal theme, the labor movement, the author devotes specific attention to programs for the alleviation of unemployment, old-age assistance, and social security. The labor movement is traced from its earliest beginnings down to the present, some of the topics stressed including union management and policies, labor relations and the law, and collective bargaining. A very satisfactory contribution deals with social ideologies in relationship with the labor movement, these being, among others, cooperation, utopianism, communism, and Christianity. Professor Taft believes that the trade unions are a conservative force in the industrial scene in the United States, and that the destruction of unionism would lead to industrial absolutism and monopoly.

M.J.V.

**SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1943.** By RUSSELL H. KURTZ, Editor. Seventh issue; New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, pp. 764.

As a "description of organized activities in social work and in related fields," this encyclopedic volume has become of increasing value since the first issue appeared in 1929. While the plan of organization remains much the same for each issue, a large amount of new materials appears in each volume, especially in the current number.

Part I contains 78 signed articles of importance, including articles on both new and old topics treated by new writers and articles revised by the same authors as in the previous issues. Among the new articles are those on Adoption, Care of Dependent and Neglected Children, Child Labor, Day Care of Children, Parent Education and Child Development, Civilian War Aid, Community Welfare Planning in Wartime, Post-War Planning, and Social Aspects of Selective Service. It is pointed out that the social problems of wartime are in the main not new but "accentuations of the familiar phenomena with which social agencies deal in peacetime" and hence they require "only modifications or extensions of peacetime organization and methodology."

Part II, which is a useful directory of agencies, gives four lists: (1) governmental national agencies, (2) voluntary national agencies, (3) governmental state agencies, and (4) voluntary state agencies. The first list includes 63 organizations; the second, 412; the third, 576; and the fourth, 59. A high standard of workmanship is maintained throughout this *Year Book*.

E.S.B.

**VAN LOON'S LIVES.** By HENDRIK WILLIAM VAN LOON. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942, pp. xxii + 886.

Destined to become one of van Loon's major works, this rather large volume is all too short for the task in hand. The undertaking is brilliantly conceived from a literary standpoint, and delightfully executed. History and biography are pleasingly interwoven. The historian may protest at the strange juxtapositions of persons, but the biography-reading public will enjoy many a chuckle along with the information about people and events that it acquires.

The "plot" is laid in Veere, Holland. Here van Loon and "Uncle Fritz" invite to Saturday evening dinners a series of about seventy-five "guests," usually by twos or threes, from the past centuries and from various countries. Erasmus is especially honored, not only because he is the first guest, having been born in Holland, but because he is invited to all the other dinners to help entertain the other guests. William the

Silent and George Washington come together: the first being the founder of the Dutch nation; and the second, of the United States. Empress Theodora and Queen Elizabeth constitute an exciting pair of guests. The Bachs and Breughels, half a hundred of each, furnish a lively evening filled with activities having to do with music and painting. Plato and Confucius fall into a debate about governments. Van Loon adds interest by introducing a discussion at the beginning of each chapter concerning the proper menu to offer each of his guests. Likewise, the music for each dinner hour is carefully considered.

Sociologically, the volume affords a study in life histories, as prepared by van Loon. Each of the famous guests tells something of life as he encountered it, and each discloses some surprising reactions to life.

E.S.B.

**LET THE PEOPLE KNOW.** By NORMAN ANGELL. New York: The Viking Press, 1943, pp. ix+245.

Millions of American citizens should be reading right now this intelligent, straightforward account of distinguished Norman Angell's arraignment of isolationist and hypernationalistic thought. *Let the People Know* is a book to get excited about. It is a fine antidote for the doses of Nazi and Nazi-inspired propaganda which have been administered in sly but generous fashion so much lately. It will serve as a bracer for those who are fervent in their desire for a peaceful world, a world without a trace of a Nazi ghost. Perhaps no one is more competent to write the present message of the book than Norman Angell, who knows well both his plain everyday, democracy-loving American and his average, freely spoken Englishman. And, to boot, he knows Hitler and his satellites and their secret ambitions.

The book begins by taking the most important of the questionings, doubts, and misgivings of the American, John Citizen, about the war. Is it a war for democracy? Is it a war to preserve the British Empire? Is it a war against imperialism? If it is a war against dictators, why the alliance with Stalin and Russia? If Russia beats Germany, will it seek to impose communism upon Europe? If the United States is drawn into the politics of the whole earth, how is it going to settle its own democratic problems independently? These suggest the subject matter of a few of the questions which Angell attempts to answer. And he really does answer them, bluntly and honestly.

Many of the questions and doubts of John Citizen have arisen because of the so-called "assassin words and phrases," such as capitalism, communism, imperialism, empire—words which mean a variety of things to

a variety of peoples. Does the British Empire own Canada in the sense that a person owning land derives revenue from it? Ask John Citizen and maybe he will, misinformed, answer in the affirmative. Why does not England give up Gibraltar, India, Northern Ireland, and other possessions? If England had given these up long ago, Nazi supremacy would have been a reality. And for the real enlightenment of John Citizen in regard to democratic England, Angell includes A. D. K. Owen's summarization of Britain's social progress program for the British working classes, a kind of New Deal which began as far back as 1906. If the world is to be safe from aggressors in the future, the United Nations must embark upon a program of collective security. The moral basis of unity must be thoroughly understood by all peoples. Unity implies a give-and-take policy. The Society of Nations, composed of nations accepting the obligations imposed upon them by a program of mutual aid, will not—nay, can not—tolerate a nation seeking freedom from the obligations imposed upon the others. Serious readers of the book will find its materials an armor plate against poisonous and divisive propaganda of the Nazi style.

M.J.V.

**THE FAMILY.** By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942, pp. 593.

This book is an addition to the many books now available as texts for a college course on the family. In its organization it follows a conventional pattern with certain modifications. The historical material is followed by discussions of the personal problems that are encountered in the establishment and continuation of family life. Family disorganization and the crises produced by depression and war form the subject matter of Part III. The social aspects of family, including chapters on the immigrant and the Negro families, are well presented. The final chapter analyzes present tendencies and indicates their probable effect on the future of family relations. The viewpoint is optimistic and conservative.

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## SOCIAL DRAMA

**THE SKIN OF OUR TEETH.** A Play in Three Acts. By THORNTON WILDER. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1942, pp. 142.

No one can accuse Thornton Wilder of failing to provide both spectator and reader with as many mental cerebrations as there are physical upheavals in this new play of his about the life history and destiny of mankind. Dispensing with any attempt to conform to unity of either

time or space, the playwright displays an Everyman and an Everywoman in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. George Antrobus, an eternal temptress in the person of Sabina, their maid, and an ever-present Cain in the person of their son, Henry. Wilder sees man as engaging in constant struggles between the forces of good and evil, but, by the skin of his teeth, emerging with the embattled good in hand. He confesses, however, in the finale of the play that the end of the struggle cannot yet be prophesied, and the real ending of the play has not been written.

George Antrobus comes home from his office one day to find that the Ice Age has descended upon it. Mammoths and dinosaurs are seeking shelter and food. His family have been using the furniture for fire. Everyone is rushing southward. Man is at the crossroads. Suddenly, George is found in Atlantic City, where he has just been made President of the Order of the Mammals. In a blustery convention style he accepts the office, and later is called upon to select the winner of the bathing beauty contest. He awards the cup to Sabina, now currently appearing as Lily Fairweather, hostess at a bingo parlor. In the midst of all this the flood descends; and Antrobus, inventor of the wheel and the lever, as well as nursemaid to the alphabet, has to hustle both humans and animals into the Ark. Another crisis for mankind. The last act finds George once again at home. Everyone outside is celebrating the end of a great war supposedly fought to end the sufferings of wronged mankind. George is skeptical about the peace. In fact, he is downright gloomy. He declares: "When you're at war you think about a better life, when you're at peace, you think about a more comfortable one." Sabina tells him that, if he'd only realize it, the world's an awful place and run on the dog-eat-dog rule. Antrobus, thus challenged, remembers his books and the great philosophers of the past with their solemn warnings that every good and excellent thing stands moment by moment on the razor edge of danger and must be fought for, and that the eternal good in man must be sought for.

The play is never dull; it is ever challenging. It violates every one of the verities of Aristotelian drama. The audience is addressed by the actors and told that the play is no good. Atlantic City in 1942 meets up with the Flood. Its very confusion fits in nicely, however, with the state of befuddlement that man finds himself in when it comes to deciphering the meaning of life for himself. Some of the lines are genuinely humorous, some are ridiculously boresome, some are philosophically stirring. It is a play for intellectual gymnastics.

M.J.V.

## SOCIAL FICTION

THE HUMAN COMEDY. By WILLIAM SAROYAN. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943, pp. 291.

"Nothing that is good ever ends" is the triumphant-sounding theme of *The Human Comedy*, a novel in which Saroyan looks at the whole human world and finds the ultimate good and the wholesome in it. Specifically, it is the story of Homer Macauley, the telegraph messenger boy of Ithaca, California. Homer at the tender age of fourteen learns that the telegraph office is a place which can act as a clearinghouse for the accounting of the checks of the world. It is here that he learns something about the heart of humanity caught now in its moments of exhilaration, its moments of tenderness, its moments of sorrow. Here it is that he comes to know his boss, Spengler, who hears music in everything, and his old telegraph operator, Willie Grogan, who, living on the memories of the past, is assured that the world will one day be a place of decency and goodness. And what with a mother who is simple, wise, and gentle, Homer becomes aware that it will never do for him to have time to be mean or petty or small, that a man cannot hate anyone but himself, that the light and warmth of home are of the essence of time and immortal living.

The human comedy as it is played in Ithaca not only reveals the telegraph office but darts its spotlight into the schoolroom, the playground, the public library, the women's club lecture room, a brothel, a grocery store, the street corners, and the church. And everywhere that it shows up its scenes, the human spirit is subjected to analysis and found good, even though its exterior may be covered with mud and slime. Across the scenes move quickly the understanding Miss Hicks, Homer's Ancient History teacher; Mrs. Sandoval, to whom Homer has to deliver his first sad telegram from the War Department; Mr. Ara, the grocer, who can't understand why anyone in America, the land of plenty, should be unhappy; Tobey George, the orphan soldier who comes home to the Macauleys to take the place of Marcus, Homer's brother, lost in the war. Then there is little Ulysses Macauley, at the age of four discovering the world and being fascinated by the meaning of friendliness found in the wave of a hand of a singing Negro, leaning over the side of the gondola of a freight train puffing its way along the tracks.

A different world, a better world, a better people, a better way of doing things—these were what Homer meant to work for because he did not like the way that things were going for the humans in the world. "Love is immortal and hate dies every minute," Spengler had told him. The novel is Saroyan's first, and it is one that will appeal to all those who enjoy something more than mere frothiness.

M.J.V.